

"THE one Idea which History exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness is the Idea of Humanity—the noble endeavour to throw down all the barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views; and by setting aside the distinctions of Religion, Country, and Colour, to treat the whole Human race as one brotherhood, having one great object—the free development of our spiritual nature."—HUMBOLDT'S COSMOS.

SAWS OF THE WEEK. —5	Page	Plan for Relieving the Irish Poor	1179	England	1184	Rise and Fall of the Orchestral Society	1190
The Bonapartist Revolution.....	1171	Intramural Intermarriage.....	1180	Social Reform.—Notes of a Social Economist.....	1185	ORGANIZATIONS of TRUE PEOPLES	
Continental Notes.....	1176	Horrible Agrarian Murder.....	1182	LITERATURE—		To the Chartists of England.....	1191
Robert Walker on the Conspiracy of the Despoils.....	1177	Position of Affairs in France.....	1184	Florence Saville.....	1187	Pimblee Working Builders.....	1191
Sharnard and Ford.....	1177	The Austro-Russian Conspiracy.....	1183	The War in Afghanistan.....	1187	Halifax Working Men's Cooperative	
Church Matters.....	1177	The Brevet Injustice.....	1183	Books on our Table.....	1189	OPEN COUNCIL—	
Archdeacon Denison and the National Society.....	1178	Public Departments.....	1183	THE ARTS—		International Money-Order Office.....	1192
Voluntary Education.....	1178	1815 Improved.....	1181	Franklin's Illustrations of the "Sinner's Saved".....	1190	COMMERCIAL AFFAIRS—	
Customs Reform.....	1179	Political Letters.—II. France and	1184	Haydn's Seasons.....	1190	Medals, Gravities, Advertisements	
A Defender of "Law and Order".....	1179					SCANDALS.....	1192-1193

Closely allied with the High-Church movement is that advance of Romanism which ostentatiously plants its churches here and there, like this new one at Greenwich dedicated to "Our Lady of the Sea." The young party of the Church of England demand freedom of development, and we say, let them have it by all means. But here at Greenwich is the temple of a Church which has enjoyed

an unheard of freedom of development, and what is it now? Dependent for its vitality on outlying stations, and prisoner in its own capital to the troops of France. Will the London Union reflect that no healthy freedom of development for the Church is possible, unaccompanied by the freedom of humanity.

The antipodes of St. Martin's-hall are they who assembled at Crosby-hall—small descendants of the great Puritans of another '48. Will these estimable persons reflect also, that in practice "voluntary" education too often ends in being involuntary ignorance. Stern Protestants stand up for their "denominations," as earnestly as the Church of the London Union stands up for "her own children"; rendering national education impossible and national ignorance still very possible and actual. Why will not each meet on the common ground of secular instruction, and each separate again for the purpose of religious education?

Expansive substances seem warring on the human race just now, or the human race is getting too confident of its mastery over dangerous agencies. Last week, gunpowder was the manslayer; this week, steam, gas, and fire-damp are the fatal agents. A boiler at Footscray explodes, nobody knows why—but why does nobody know? At Liverpool, a young man enters a room with a light, sees a blue flame for a moment, and instantly the house is shaken to pieces by an explosion. At the village of Woodthorpe, two miles or so from Sheffield, there is a coal-pit. One of the avenues of the pit was known to be "surcharged with inflammable gas"; nevertheless, with an exposed light, a youth went down the avenue: result, killed himself "burned to ashes," and two others killed. Cause, pit ventilated by one shaft instead of two. This manslaughter is set down as a "colliery accident," of course!

But more striking explosions of a moral kind are those in Ireland—the disclosure of the connexion between the Lord-Lieutenant and a Dublin newspaper; the resuscitation of Orangeism; and the resurrection of Ribandism. The story of Lord Clarendon's subsidizing a journal is old, but the fact is confirmed by the trial in the Court of Queen's Bench. Lord Clarendon's share in the matter is indicative of laxity and a certain "green" reliance on newspaper puffing for the maintenance of "law and order," rather than for any baser purpose. The trait does not indicate much capacity for vigorous government. Orangeism is taking the mild form of a benefit organization. Ribandism displays itself as fiercely as ever in midday murder: Mr. Thomas Douglas Bateson is assaulted in the highway, and beaten to death; not a soul interfering to rescue him, or to capture the murderers—Ribandmen summoned to the work from a distance. Districts are "proclaimed" under the Coercion Act as disturbed; and the *Northern Whig* speaks of Ribandism as extensive. So commences the winter in Ireland!

THE BONAPARTIST REVOLUTION.

"SOCIETY IS SAVED."

"Paris is perfectly tranquil," was the laconic announcement of the telegraph on Saturday morning. But how was Paris brought into a state of tranquillity? The answer is short and terrible—by the massacre of 2700 persons, hundreds of whom were shot in cold blood in the Champ de Mars, on Friday night.

The fitful proceedings of Wednesday were succeeded by a bloody conflict on the following day. Determined to strike terror into all his opponents, M. Bonaparte suffered the hot-headed youth of Paris to raise some barricades, in order that he might have a pretext for the use of his cannon and bayonets. And on Thursday about mid-day, in so public a place as the Faubourg St. Denis, a large barricade was raised, defended on the flanks and in the rear by similar structures. Very few men were engaged in the work, and a vast concourse looked on. Not a soldier was in sight, not a policeman visible. Suddenly, up came a vast body of troops sweeping the streets, supported by cavalry and artillery, under the command of General Carrelet. How long they were engaged in storming this barricade it is impossible to say, for the accounts are derived from the French Police, and are therefore untrustworthy; but we have the grim fact before us that the barricade was taken, and those of its defenders who were not shot or bayoneted in the assault, carried away and massacred in cold blood in the Champ de Mars. Similar tragedies were acted on other points: in the Boulevard Poissonnière, at the Porte St. Martin, in the Rue Rambuteau, and the Boulevard Bonne Nouvelle. There was hot resistance; there were great hopes at the Elysée that the real men of the barri-

cades would turn out; but St. Antoine would not move; St. Marceau was quiet; Montmartre was provokingly calm; the old fighting grounds were undisputed, and the disappointed prætorians marched up and down with horse and foot and met no foe. The phrase used by a workman has become famous, "there was nothing to fight about."

No one can complain of the slaughter at the barricades. If men take arms, they must run all risks, and the last men to regret would be the victims themselves. But there were other slaughters, not at barricades, perpetrated by the troops. They were of this kind. In the Rue Poissonnière, a small body of persons were walking along the trottoir, when up marched a regiment of infantry. The commanding officer perceived in the crowd a man whom he declared had been defending a barricade. Instantly the supposed "insurgent" was arrested. His companions cried *Vive la République!* and without a moment's warning the soldiers fired on the people, killing upwards of thirty on the spot. Detachments scoured the streets, capturing isolated, weakly built, weakly defended barricades, and replying to every shot from the houses by tremendous discharges of musketry, and sometimes of cannon. Imagine the consternation of respectable Paris when it learned that the Maison d'Orléans, the Café de Paris, the Café Tortoni, and a large tailoring establishment, together with several other houses, had been smashed in with musketry and cannon balls. Cuirassiers rode in among the crowds on the pavement, and lancers used their weapons without ceremony. The slaughter was immense, both of the resisting and unresisting. In the evening the Minister of War issued the following audacious proclamation to the army.

"Soldiers!—You have to-day accomplished a great act of your military life. You have preserved the country from anarchy and pillage, and saved the Republic. You have shown yourselves what you will always be—brave, devoted, and indefatigable. France admires you, and thanks you. The President of the Republic will never forget your devotedness. Victory could not be doubtful; the true people, all honest men, are with you. In all the garrisons of France your companions in arms are proud of you, and will, when called on, follow your example."

"A. DE SAINT-ARNAUD."

To the civilians came a proclamation signed De Maupas.

"The emute is suppressed. Our enemies are henceforth powerless to raise barricades. Nevertheless, the excitement to revolt continues. Ardent demagogues mix with the crowds to excite to agitation and circulate false news. The Montagnard ex-representatives turn to account the last remnants of their old prestige to lead the people with them. Furnished lodging-houses, cafés, and suspected houses become the receptacle of conspirators and insurgents. Arms, ammunition, and incendiary writings are concealed there. All the causes of agitation must be suppressed by practising on a large scale a system of search and arrests. It is the means of restoring to the capital that peace and tranquillity which a handful of factious men have sought to take from it. You have all done your duty with so much devotedness and courage that I doubt not but that, in order to fulfil this new and important mission, you will display all the vigilance and energy which are called for by circumstances."

DE MAUPAS."

But it was on this night also that M. Bonaparte received the following letter, to which he returned a cold and evasive reply.

"MY DEAR NEPHEW.—French blood is flowing; stop it by serious appeal to the people. Your sentiments are badly understood. The second proclamation, in which you talk of *plebiscite*, is badly received by the people, who do not consider it the reestablishment of the right of suffrage. Liberty is without guarantee if an Assembly does not suit the constitution of the Republic. The army has the upper hand. It is the moment to complete the material victory by a moral victory; and what the Government cannot do when it is beaten it ought frequently to do when it is victorious. After having beaten the ancient parties, restore the people; proclaim that universal suffrage, sincere, unshackled, acting in accordance with the greatest liberty, will nominate the President and a Constituent Assembly, to save and restore the Republic. It is in the name of the memory of my brother, and partaking his horror of civil war, that I write to you. Believe in my old experience; think that France, Europe, and posterity will well judge you."

"Your affectionate uncle, JEROME BONAPARTE."

The next morning the fighting was renewed; but the only barricade of importance which was defended was in the Rue Rochechouart, and that was taken without much difficulty. All day long, however, the cavalry careered through the streets, and occupied the strong positions. What took place in the way of shooting down the people we know not. But there must have been great butchery somewhere, or upwards of 2000 could not have been slain. Saturday passed off, as far as Paris was concerned, "tranquilly"; but it was the tranquillity of death. The streets were full of spectators.

The *Moniteur* published the following decree of the President of the Republic, on the 7th, restoring the ancient church of Ste. Geneviève to the Roman Catholic worship, conformably to the intention of its founder:—

"In the name of the French People, the President

of the Republic, on the report of the Minister of Public Instruction,

"Having considered the law of the 4th—10th of April, 1791.

"Having considered the decree of the 20th of February, 1806.

"Having considered the ordonnance of the 26th of August, 1830.

"Decrees:—

"Art. 1.—The ancient church of Ste. Geneviève is restored to public worship, conformably to the intention of its founder, under the invocation of Ste. Geneviève the patron of Paris.

"Measures shall be taken at a later period, to regulate the permanent exercise of the Catholic worship in that church.

"Art. 2.—The ordonnance of the 26th of August, 1830, is revoked.

"Art. 3.—The Minister of Public Instruction and of Religious worship and the Minister of Public Works are charged, each as far as concerns him, with the execution of the present decree, which shall be inserted in the *Bulletin des lois*.

"LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

"Paris, December 6.

"The Minister of Public Instruction and Worship.

"H. FORTUL."

Does the uninitiated reader recognize the sting of this affectedly formal decree? The church of Ste. Geneviève is—we beg pardon, was—the Pantheon where the ashes of the heroes of France, whose laurels were not won with the sword, were deposited by a grateful country. The Pantheon, wherein the dust of Voltaire and Rousseau and Mirabeau reposes, is henceforth sacred to the Pope and the Inquisition.

On the same day the *Constitutionnel*, with an effrontery only equalled by its master, wrote, "This is the first time for more than fifty years that the country understands its true interests." The next day appeared that document, surpassing the brutal gasconades of the *Constitutionnel* in impudence, and containing the immense phrase we have used as the sub-title to this narrative.

"Frenchmen,—Disturbances have disappeared. What ever be the decision of the people, society is saved."

"The first part of my task is accomplished."

"The appeal to the nation to terminate the struggles of parties occasioned, I knew, no serious risk to public tranquillity."

"Why should the people rise against me?"

"If I have not your confidence, if your ideas are changed, there is no necessity to shed precious blood; you have only to deposit in the urn a contrary vote."

"I always respect the decision of the nation; but, till the nation has spoken, I shall not hesitate at any sacrifice to baffle the attempts of the factious."

"The task, besides, is now become easy. On one hand, it has been seen how mad it was to contend against an army united and disciplined, animated by honour and patriotism; on the other, the tranquil attitude of the people of Paris, the reprobation with which they stigmatized the insurrection, show for whom the capital pronounced."

"In the populous quarters where formerly the insurrection recruited itself so quickly among the workmen easy of seduction, anarchy now encountered only the greatest repugnance for its detestable excitements."

"Thanks for such a change is due to the intelligent and patriotic population of Paris. Let them be convinced more and more that my only ambition is to secure the repose and prosperity of France. Let the people of Paris continue to aid the authorities, and the country will soon be able to perform in calmness the solemn act which is to inaugurate a new era for the Republic."

The proper comment on the above is to be found in the *Moniteur* of the same day:—

"The departments of the Herault and the Gard in a state of siege. The Fifth Legion of the National Guard of Paris is dissolved and disarmed."

THE DEPARTMENTS.

Nearly all France is by this time in a state of siege. On so many points has resistance been made with more or less determination that quite sufficient pretext has been given to the ruling military faction to assume all the powers of the state. Numbers of departments have been lumped together, and extraordinary commissioners set over them, with almost unlimited powers—men like M. Carlier, in whose hands will be the control of the coming farce of an election. Isolated and separate riots quelled by gendarmerie and National Guards have occurred all over France, but no serious movement except perhaps in the South. It is impossible, however, to arrive at the truth. Immense agitation prevails, and the fact is that one-fourth of France has been placed in a state of siege. How far we can accept the following as correct we know not. It is from the doubtful journal the *Pays*, edited by La Guéronnière, who wrote the flattering portrait of M. Bonaparte.

"*Jacquerie* has raised its flag. Bands of assassins traverse the country, march on towns, invade private houses, pillage, burn, kill, leaving everywhere on their passage abominable crimes, which bring us back to the days of barbarism. It is not fanaticism such as too often reveals itself in party strife—it is cannibalism going beyond the supposition of the most hardy imagination."

To meet such a state of things the organ of M. de Lamartine proposes—

"Let this social war be combatted by a federation of the whole country—Republicans, Legitimists, Orleanists, proprietors, capitalists, tradesmen, farmers, workmen, we

are all identified in this supreme interest. They pillage, assassinate, and burn, while invoking Vengeance, Hatred, and Despair, those infernal gods of demagoguism. Let us defend and preserve ourselves, invoking Law and Justice, those gods of a democracy which desires to keep from stains, and of a people who would not perish."

The *Constitutionnel* says the Basses Alpes is in the power of the "Socialists"—but this is police news, and the nickname is a police nickname adopted by the English organs of the French Police.

NATURE OF THE CONFLICT.

"I cannot now give you much account of the awful scenes that happened here yesterday. I narrowly escaped being shot in the street, as many were; and having entered my hotel on the Boulevards, which were filled with thousands of troops, a sudden discharge of musketry took place along the whole line—volley after volley; not a house, scarcely a window, was spared, whether containing combatants or not. Before I could rush from my room musket balls entered by the window, from which I had retreated but a step or two. In another room was a Russian family; the brother, a fine young man, and his sister were both struck by balls while hastening from the room with their mother. The lady had her hand shattered, the brother was shot in the chest. I have seldom felt a more intense pleasure in my profession than in being able to give immediate assistance to these poor persons, for which otherwise they must have waited many hours. They displayed a beautiful and generous devotion, each begging me to attend first to the other. There is a house opposite ours that is breached by cannon shot fired into it at a few feet distance. The loss of life, which will never be published, must have been awful. With characteristic peculiarity, after the troops had performed their unworthy task, the military surgeons, at night, went from house to house to see after the wounded. One of them told me he had just seen sixty dead and eighty wounded in our immediate neighbourhood. The greater part of the injured are non-combatants, suddenly surprised in the streets or struck down, unsuspecting danger, in their own homes. Such scenes—fit enough perhaps for the storming of an Arab town—with an indiscriminate attack on unresisting houses, were never before known, even in Paris."

The following is an extract from a private letter, dated Paris, December 8, 1851:—

"One of our female servants is married to a non-commissioned officer in one of the regiments of civic troops which are employed more especially in the arrests and executions now going on. We learn from her that her husband was engaged with his company the entire day yesterday in making arrests. He does not know how many hundred were lodged by his company in the prisons. He says they are ordered out to the Champs de Mars to-day to shoot a number—reported to be 156—of those condemned by the court-martial. From the language used by the wife we infer that the soldiers, at least of that regiment, notwithstanding their enormous extra pay, are thoroughly disgusted with their work. All the usual vocabulary of abusive epithets is showered on the President, such as *brigand*, *scélérat*, &c."

"After I despatched my packet last evening a friend called who ought to be well informed, and assured me that a list of suspected persons has been made which includes all the English in Paris who are supposed to have any engagement in connection with the press, and especially with the newspapers, and that a person who saw that list affirmed that my name is on it. It is said to be decided to order any one to quit France who is suspected of writing articles or letters hostile to the Government. Another friend called last evening, who is the chief judge of one of the high tribunals, and also a member of the *soi-disant* 'Consultative Council,' to whom I mentioned what I heard about the suspected list, but did not allude to my own name being on it. He replied that he had not any knowledge of such a list, but that in the present state of things it was very probable, and that he conceived such a measure to be dictated by motives of wise precaution and prudence; that it gives France trouble enough to manage her own affairs without being embarrassed by the meddling of foreign journals."

"As I think there is danger even in sending letters through the *bureau* of your correspondent, and as letters addressed to the *Times* (not proceeding from the usual correspondent) would (as I am assured) be opened at the Post-office, I think it best to inclose this to a friend, who will forward it."

"We are now literally living under the reign of terror. Not one word that appears in the French journals can be relied on. Indeed, it may be in general taken to be false."

"We give the above on the authority of the *Times*. No words of ours can add force to these."

In confirmation of this rumour, we find the following sentence in a proclamation signed De Maupas:—

"All the causes of agitation must be suppressed by practising on a large scale a system of search and arrests."

Suchet d'Albufera found his name in the list of the

Consultative Commission. Like Léon Faucher, he was enraged, and wrote to M. Bonaparte a stinging letter to this effect:—"Sir,—Your uncle gave me an honourable name; what right have you to tarnish it by placing it on your Consultative Commission?" Afterwards he went to M. de Morny, for the purpose of protesting. On his expressing his indignation, M. de Morny, the new Minister of the Interior, plainly told him "they wanted his name to make use of in his department." M. Suchet d'Albufera then said that he would announce in the newspapers that he had not accepted the nomination; upon which M. de Morny said that none of the newspapers would publish it. "Then," said M. d'Albufera, "I shall write fifty letters to my constituents in the department." "You may save yourself the trouble," retorted M. de Morny; "for not one of them will reach them." This is but one of several similar cases. The members protest, but the Government insists on keeping in the names, in order that the departments may be deceived.

The coolness of M. de Morny is astounding. Indeed nothing daunts the Elysée in the way of moral resistance. There are Englishmen and Englishwomen who frequent the Saloons of the usurper. On Monday night, when the blood in the streets had not dried up, and the echoes of the musketry in the Champ de Mars hardly died away, the first public reception took place at the Palace of the Elysée, since the *coup d'état*. It was crowded to excess, and it was found necessary to throw open additional rooms for the reception of the company. As may be conceived, there was an extraordinary number of officers of all ranks. The members of the *corps diplomatique* were also in great numbers, and there were many present who, only three days ago, were among the loudest in condemning the *coup d'état*. There was a considerable number of ladies, and among them a good many of our countrywomen!

"ORDER."

Thiers has been set at liberty, and escorted out of the country. The generals are still detained at Ham. Arrests have followed each other in rapid succession during the past week; and on Tuesday the *Moniteur* contained a decree signed by M. Bonaparte, and countersigned by the supple De Morny. It is quite sufficient of itself to stamp the characters of master and man with infamy.

"The President of the Republic, on the proposition of the Minister of the Interior—considering that France has need of order, labour, and security; that for too many years society has been profoundly disquieted and troubled by the machinations of anarchy, and by the insurrectional attempts of the members of secret societies, and liberated convicts, always ready to become instruments of disorder; considering that, by their constant habits of revolt against all laws, this class of men not only compromise tranquillity, labour, and public order, but authorise unjust attacks and deplorable calumnies on the sound part of the working population of Paris and Lyons; considering that existing laws are insufficient, and that it is necessary to make modifications in them, whilst conciliating the duties of humanity with the interest of general security, decrees:—

"Art. 1. Any individual placed under the surveillance of the police who shall be proved guilty of the offence of *rupture de ban* may be transported, as a measure of general safety, to a penitentiary colony at Cayenne, or in Algeria. The duration of the transportation shall be five years at least, and not exceed ten."

"Art. 2. The same measure shall be applicable to individuals proved to have formed part of a secret society."

"Art. 3. The fact of being placed under the surveillance of the police shall, for the future, give the Government the right of determining the place in which the condemned must reside after undergoing his punishment. The Administration shall determine the formalities for proving the continued presence of the condemned in the place of his residence."

"Art. 4. Residence at Paris and in the *banlieue* is interdicted to all individuals placed under the surveillance of the police."

"Art. 5. The individuals designated by the preceding article shall be obliged to quit Paris and its *banlieue* within ten days from the promulgation of the present decree, unless they shall have obtained permission to remain, from the administration. There shall be delivered to those who may demand it a *feuille de route et de secours*, which shall fix their route to their place of birth, or that which they may have designated."

"Art. 6. In case of violation of the measures prescribed by Articles 4 and 5 of the present decree, offenders may be transported, as a measure of general safety, to a penitentiary colony at Cayenne, or in Algeria."

"Art. 7. Persons transported in virtue of the present decree shall be subjected to labour in the penitentiary establishment; they shall be deprived of their civil and political rights; they shall be subjected to military jurisdiction; the military laws shall be applicable to them. However, in case of evasion from the establishment, the transported shall be condemned to imprisonment, which cannot exceed the time during which they may then have to remain in transportation. They shall be subjected to military discipline and subordination towards their chiefs and keepers, whether civil or military, during the period of imprisonment."

"Art. 8. Regulations of the Executive Government shall settle the organization of these penitentiary colonies."

"Art. 9. The Ministers of the Interior and of War are charged, each in what concerns him, with the execution of the present decree."

"Done at Paris, at the Elysée National, the Council of Ministers being heard, the 8th of December."

"LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE."

"A. DE MORNAY, Minister of the Interior."

And now, reader, that you have read that document, you will be in a proper frame of mind to appreciate the fact that elaborate arrangements have been made for taking the vote on the 20th instant: positively elaborate arrangements to secure the integrity of the ballot-box and protect the right of voting. And this has been done while the Bonapartist faction are in possession of all civil and military power in France. Immense force with a horrible tragedy beneath it! The portrait of this régime of the sabre and the bullet is well described by the *Morning Chronicle* of Thursday.

"We have a wholesale incarceration of nearly 200 national representatives, snatched from the midst of Europe's political capital, without the shadow of a crime alleged, further than that of an obstructive policy in the Legislative Assembly of the nation—we say without an accusation; for, if the alleged plot against the President and the asserted tampering with the army are true, why are not the victims brought to trial, and why is M. Thiers already released? Every independent newspaper is stopped or intimidated—every possibility of telling or learning the truth is most successfully blocked up against the inquiries of eager millions. The mails, the frontiers, the army, the executive—all are secured, manipulated, and directed with the blind energy of a machine. Opinion and consent are asked at the sword's point—appeal is answered by the *mitraille*—remonstrance acknowledged by monster mortars—and resistance, or even repining, confronted by some five hundred thousand bayonets. And, as though the present régime were desirous to reproduce every historical detail of past despotisms, it is plainly intimated that Cayenne, as in the days of Robespierre, and Algeria, with its novelty of horrors, await those who shall combine for the secret utterance of thoughts and hopes which can no longer be openly avowed. So it is—at this very moment Louis Napoleon rules, and has secured submission by the identical acts or menaces which history has selected as the foulest blots of the Greek democracies, of the Roman Republic in the worst days of its civic furies, of the sanguinary Italian States—nay of France itself, in the successive tyrannies of Louis XIV., of the Convention, and of the Empire. It has been reserved for France to see combined all these invasions of human rights in the policy of a single week."

But the *Constitutionnel* impudently dogmatizes as follows.

"France as a civilized nation has just raised herself in the eyes of Europe. The troops of France are now as vigorous as they are disciplined. The public feeling has just devoted itself to the defence of family ties, and property and the protection of order and of labour. France has just done justice on the coalitions against public prosperity and personal ambitions."

Among minor acts following the reestablishment of order, is the sop to the Legitimists and priest party—the restoration of the Pantheon to Roman Catholic purposes in accordance with the wishes of "the pious founder," said pious founder being none other than mephitic Louis XV. of "scarlet du Barry" memory.

The *Times* said all the English journals had denounced the *coup d'état* with "one base exception." During the week there have been four English journals contending for the honour of being the allies of the Cossacks!

THE "TIMES" ON LOUIS NAPOLEON.

On the 13th of November, 1850, Louis Napoleon declared in his Message to the National Assembly of France that "he considered as great criminals those who by personal ambition compromised the small amount of stability secured by the Constitution; that such was his profound conviction, which had never been shaken; that the invariable rule of his political life would be, under all circumstances, to do his duty, and nothing but his duty; that every one, except himself, was at liberty to seek to hasten the revision of the fundamental law; that if the Constitution contained defects and dangers, the Assembly was competent to expose them to the eyes of the country; but that he alone, bound by his oath, restrained himself within the strict limits traced by that act; that whatever the future solution of affairs was to be, it was essential to provide against it, so that passion, surprise, and violence should never decide the fate of a great nation; that the first duty of authorities was to inspire the people with veneration for the law, by never deviating from it themselves; and that his anxiety was not, he assured the Assembly, to know who would govern France in 1852, but to employ the time at his disposal so that the transition, whatever it might be, should be effected without agitation or disturbance;" for, said he, "the noblest object, and that most worthy of an exalted mind, is not to seek, when in power, how to perpetuate it, but to labour incessantly to fortify, for the benefit of all, those principles of authority and morality which defy the passions of mankind and the instability of laws."

We still remember the joy and confidence with which these words were received by the Assembly and the French nation—these words which must now strike their self-condemned author in the midst of his sanguinary triumph, and leave a stigma on his truth and honour which the Crown of an Empire cannot hide or efface. . . . Never was "the fate of a great nation" more effectually

disposed of "by surprise and violence"; never were "the principles of authority and morality" more audaciously invaded by force and dishonesty. The army, stung by allusions to its former defeats, and inflamed by more vulgar stimulants to its passions, was first set upon the scattered members of the Legislature, and then let loose with unmitigated ferocity upon the people. All that offered the least show of resistance to acts which overturned the Constitution and threatened to annihilate every trace of public liberty, were confounded in one common proscription with the Socialists and anarchists, and swept off by grape-shot on the Boulevards, or by the military executions which instantly followed in the Champ de Mars. Every sign of that popular enthusiasm which commonly marks the commencement and the close of the reigns of Princes was wanting; but it was compensated by the overbearing arrogance of an army confident of victory over the civil power. We learn, from the numerous accounts which have reached us, that the aspect of this army was not that of troops engaged in the painful duty of repressing disturbances amongst their fellow-citizens, but of men pursuing their enemies to the death, without quarter or forbearance, in the heart of a conquered city. It will never be known at what cost of life to the citizens of Paris Louis Napoleon found himself master of the Government on the evening of the 4th of December; but from the comparatively small loss on the side of the army it is evident that the resistance was at no time comparable to that of the insurgents in June, 1848; and that every means were taken which the improved science of street warfare, and the pitiless commands of the African generals could suggest, to strike with the whole force of an armed hand on the heads of the people. The army, to use a significant expression, did its worst. Such an opportunity of exterminating the Red faction in Paris had long been sought for by the principal generals, and this lesson of terror is the inauguration of Louis Napoleon's absolute power. Speaking within the limits of historical truth, and upon the evidence of many eyewitnesses of these events, we affirm that the bloody and treacherous deeds of the 4th of December will be remembered with horror in the annals even of that city which witnessed the massacre of St. Bartholomew and the Reign of Terror."

We need only print the following. It is from the Wednesday letter of the Paris correspondent of the *Chronicle* :—

"I am assured that the *coup d'état* effected by the President of the Republic, has filled the representatives of the Absolutist Powers of Europe with joy, and that all the representatives of the Northern Powers have already intimated to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, as well as to Louis Napoleon himself, their full approbation of the course pursued. On Monday evening, not one of the Ministers of the Northern Powers was absent."

The Vienna Correspondent of the *Times*, only to be relied on when his facts tell against himself, furnishes additional evidence of this conspiracy.

"Many who are well-wishers to the President, do not scruple to assert that the *coup d'état* was long since arranged between that high functionary and the representatives of the Northern Powers; although, as a matter of course, the exact moment at which it was to take place was to depend on circumstances. It is deserving of mention that early in the morning of the 3rd—the day on which the Paris occurrences became known here—the Vienna garrison was suddenly put on the alert by order of the Emperor. The whole of the troops appeared under arms at the appointed place within half an hour, and were rewarded for their promptitude by three days' extra pay."

The *Times* of Monday in the week published a rumour that the Prince de Joinville and the Duc D'Aumale had set out for France. It has not been denied. From Berlin correspondence we learn that the Count de Chambord was bestirring himself, and the old agent, the Duke de Blacas, put in requisition. Where is France that she does not dispose of all these pretenders? Where? Let the votes of the army tell.

The *Patrie* publishes the following votes of the army :—

Number of votes.....	65,289
Votes for Louis Napoleon.....	61,456
Against.....	3,749
Abstained.....	84

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

In the Continental Notes of our number of the 15th ultimo, we mentioned that Nicholas, taking into consideration the services rendered by M. Léon Faucher to the cause of order, had restored to his brother-in-law, M. Wolowski, a French representative, the value of his landed property situated in Poland; an assertion, against which the latter has protested in several French papers, declaring that his sister (Madame Faucher) had a legacy left her by her father, which was mortgaged upon a confiscated landed property, but which she at last, after sixteen years of reclamation, recovered, and which gave rise to the false rumour. In spite of this protest, however, the Parisian correspondent of the Berlin *National Zeitung* writes:—"I can vouch that the Russian Emperor, already several months ago, ordered that the sum derived from the sale of the confiscated property be restored to M. Wolowski's sister; at the same time referring to the policy of M. Faucher, by which he so soon the approbation of the autocrat."

An order, characteristic of the Russian police concerning the railroad travellers, has lately been issued by the Director-General of Police in St. Petersburg,

in virtue of which every inhabitant of a place situated near the Petersburg-Muscovian line, wishing to travel by it, is obliged to produce a certificate at the railway-office, declaring no cause or impediment why he should not travel; every functionary, an authorization from his superior; and foreigners, their legalized passports. The name of every traveller is inscribed in a separate register, and with it the specification of the document presented. The officers appointed for such verification are paid out of the railroad funds.

General Kempen, governor of Vienna, has issued a proclamation to the inhabitants to the effect that, whereas it has become manifest by the arrests and domiciliary visits made recently, that a large quantity of seditious and revolutionary matter has been printed and got into circulation here, it has been judged necessary to enforce anew some of the conditions of the state of siege, founded upon the proclamations of November, 1848. All persons, therefore, from the date of the proclamation (December 3), whether Austrian citizens by birth or foreign residents, who shall be found in possession of these incendiary writings or prints, will expose themselves to the rigour of the law—that is to say, to a "Kriegsrechtliche Behandlung," which means military fortress arrest for a term of months or years, according as the circumstance may be more or less aggravating. The like punishment will overtake those who omit to give notice to the civil or military authorities of their having seen such documents or placards. The Government is on the alert, and is resolved not to be found sleeping a second time, should the people of Vienna take it into their wise heads to conspire and fraternize with the democrats of France. To try the soldiers, the Emperor yesterday morning gave orders for the alarm to be beaten, and the whole garrison called out. In half an hour they were all at their posts on the glacis, and his Majesty rode down the line. To mark his approbation of their conduct, the Emperor has published an order of the day, permitting each man to enjoy double pay for three days.

The Ministerial Austrian Correspondent of the 5th instant states that the Military Governor of Vienna has addressed a circular to all the newspaper editors of the capital, informing them that for the future they will not be allowed to mention any arrests which take place, or to publish the names of the persons so arrested, because it has been proved that such publication interferes with the judicial proceedings. A similar circular has been addressed to the provincial newspapers.

Lord Palmerston's organ, the *Post*, contains the following sentence in a letter purporting to be from Vienna, dated December 3. Does the gentleman who penned it think all the world is either blind, or in the Russo-Austrian interest?

"In spite of all that has been said and written on the perplexed subject of Austrian finance, in spite of the fact that silver stands at a premium of twenty-eight per cent. over the National Bank notes, there are not wanting those who consider the panic prevailing among the holders of Austrian paper to be altogether groundless!"

The significant italics are not of our making. Exchanges governed by the police are certainly not "grounds" for a panic. Who but stupid merchants and brokers, and nine-tenths of civilized Europe, ever thought they were?

The following facts can, perhaps, hardly be equalled in the annals of tyranny:—Six thousand families have been banished from their trades, and friends, and homes, in different parts of Austria, and compelled to return to their birthplace, under the surveillance of the police. All foreign newspapers have been forbidden in Hungary. No passports of any kind, or on any pretence, are granted to travellers for Hungary. Some time ago an order was published forbidding any newspaper to refer to the movements of any of the Imperial family without authority. Hitherto, as they did not particularly interest anybody, the unlucky journalists have contrived to escape pretty well; but a few days since the editor of the *Soldier's Friend* was brought up before the military governor of Breslau, Baron Kempfer, and by him solemnly reprimanded for having "dared to publish an article too eulogistic respecting the Emperor's journey to Galicia." The Imperial family, observed the Baron, with singular naïveté, do not require the praise of newspaper writers.

The *Augsburg Gazette* states that the Earl of Westmoreland, our ambassador at Vienna, has cancelled the lease of his hotel, and holds himself ready to take his departure from the capital.

ROBERT WALKER ON THE CONSPIRACY OF DESPOTS.

Manchester, following the example of Liverpool, has given a dinner to the Honourable R. J. Walker, of the United States.

About 120 persons dined at the Albion Hotel, and among those present were the Right Honourable T. Milner Gibson, M.P., J. Brotherton, Esq., M.P., Charles Hindley, Esq., M.P., Sir Elkanah Armitage, General Walbridge (United States), J. Bright, Esq., M.P., R. Cobden, Esq., M.P., Colonel Colt (of revolving-pistol celebrity), Messrs. William Rathbone, jun., of Liverpool, W. S. Still, L. Thornton, M. Hoeman, W. J. Atherton, R. Gardner, H. Ashworth, E. Ashworth, and S. Schwabe.

Passing over the free-trade portion of Mr. Walker's speech, we cut out without comment of any kind his concluding words upon the topic of the greatest moment for us as freemen and Englishmen.

"Gentlemen, I will say a very few words on another subject. I believe that there ought to be, not merely in commerce, but in friendly feeling, and in various other ways, a cordial union between England and America. (Applause.) I believe that theirs is a joint mission, not a separate one—it is a joint mission to carry the blessings of free trade, of commerce, of civilization, of civil and religious liberty, and of Christianity under their joint flags all over the world. And at this period, when there has been some talk about an alliance of England with France and Spain, in which I am not a believer, and which would be resisted by us to the last extremity—permit me to call your attention to an alliance that once did take place between England and the United States, and in which their joint coöperation effected great and glorious purposes. It was in the time of Canning. I read it from a publication, under the signature of my honoured countryman Richard Rush, who has held the office of Prime Minister of our Cabinet, Minister to France, and Minister to England. It is his statement of their joint coöperation :—

"The main proposal was, and its first suggestion came from the English Foreign Secretary (Mr. Canning) to the Minister of the United States in London, I then being in that capacity, that the two powers should make a joint declaration before Europe to the effect that, if the Holy Alliance, after overthrowing the then existing constitution in Spain, established by the people under the auspices of the Cortes (which ultimately they did overthrow by the instrumentality of a French army), attempted, by force of arms, or force of influence, to arrest the progress of emancipation and independence in the Spanish colonies on this continent, the two powers would put themselves against so arbitrary a project. The project was stopped effectually. England would have stopped it herself, but sought our coöperation; and the knowledge by the allies that, if things had proceeded to extremities, it would have been afforded, was doubtless, of full value in raising a bar to the least attempt at so audacious a course."

Now, then, gentlemen, here was an alliance, proposed by Canning, and assented to, although not by a formal treaty, by my own country; in which Great Britain and America united declare to the world that, if the Holy Alliance should attempt to reenslave the Spanish American colonies, or subject them again to the colonial bondage of Spain, then England and the United States would interpose to prevent such a catastrophe. And, gentlemen, bear in mind the important fact that the mere communication of this determination of England and America to the despotic powers of Europe prevented such a catastrophe; and further, it prevented it without a war. And I do fully believe, for I am not amongst those who, looking at the continent of Europe, think that the sky is cloudless—I believe at this moment, that if England and the United States would announce to the despotic powers of the Continent, that they must observe the doctrine of non-intervention—that every nation must be permitted to judge for itself, and to select such institutions as best suited it, according to the will of the nation—(hear, hear)—that if England and America—(loud applause)—would make such an announcement to the despotic powers, it would arrest their march. (Hear, hear.) I believe that it would have precisely the same effect in 1851 that it had in 1820. Why should it not? Is England less powerful in 1851 than she was in 1820? Is my own country, of which I shall not boast, or speak in any flashy spirit, but I hope I may be permitted to ask, is my own country less powerful in 1851 than she was in 1820? (Hear, hear.) It was then that the mere enunciation of a principle stayed the march of the despots. (Hear, hear.) I will not dwell upon this topic, but it is my duty to say one word. I believe, gentlemen, that the events which have recently transpired in France are of a momentous magnitude to England, to the United States, and to the world. It is true, gentlemen, there may be a momentary repose of despotism—it is true that that man, who has combined in himself the character of a traitor, of an insurgent—(hear, hear)—and of a military usurper—(hear, hear)—may trample down for the moment the liberties of France. But, gentlemen, I propound this single question to Englishmen: if he does succeed, who can doubt that a government established by the army of Louis Napoleon—established in favour of a man whose hands are dripping with the warm life-blood of his countrymen—of every age, sex, and condition—that a government thus established will not become a military despotism—that Louis Napoleon will not become a mere power to be moved on the political chessboard by the iron finger of the Czar? (Hear, hear.) And, gentlemen, is it for the interest of England that she should have another military despotism on her own continent of Europe, and immediately on her own borders? Is it her interest—is it the interest of the constitutional Government of England—that all the continent of Europe be covered by systems which are the very antipodes of her own? Is it her interest that, on that great continent, there shall be no governments but those that are found in armies and in camps? Will it increase her commerce? Will it render her more safe and secure from the assaults of despotic powers? Will England be more safe when there is nothing but despotic governments throughout the whole continent of Europe? It is not for me to attempt to draw the veil which conceals the future. It is my fear, my apprehension—for I desire not to see any such results—that England will be assailed by the military despots of Europe. (Hear, hear.) Why, gentlemen, this despotism of France, being created by the army of France, must merely be a belligerent despotism. The army must have employment. It is not

to fight against the despotisms of Europe. This act has already been sustained by the despotic power of Austria, and I have no doubt that you will find it sustained by the Russian Czar, and by all the despotisms of the continent of Europe. Then, if the imperial army of France are to have employment, may we not look back to history? In 1804, had we not a somewhat parallel catastrophe, when the constitution of France was overthrown by Napoleon Bonaparte, and an imperial Government was reestablished in France, as I believe it soon will be in France again. (Hear, hear.) What followed on the establishment of the imperial and military power in France in 1804, may it not follow in 1852? Now, gentlemen, I hope these events may not follow—I hope that we shall have peace—peace with England—peace, if possible, with all mankind. (Applause.) There is no genuine Free-trader that can be otherwise than the friend of peace. (Applause.) And I do say this, that I do not believe that it is the interest of England to ally herself with the despots of the continent of Europe. (Hear, hear.) And I say further, that if upon her refusal to do so, she should be assailed by those despotic powers—if, maintaining her own constitutional Government, her own trial by jury, her own liberty of speech and of the press, she should require our aid—I speak what I know to be the unanimous sentiment of my country—the entire American population, backed by their Government, will come as one man, and fight the battle with you, if it be necessary. (Immense cheering.)

We did not expect to have the *Times* so soon proclaiming the Anglo-American alliance in the cause of freedom. Yet here it is fresh from yesterday's columns.

"Beyond the operation of tariffs and financial disputes Mr. Walker casts a prophetic eye at the great conflict between military absolutism and constitutional government, which every day assumes a more serious aspect, which every day draws nearer to this island, and which will one day divide the whole world. These are no two states in the whole world, and never have been, so bound to one another, so mutually beneficial, and so able to work together, as the British empire and the United States. At present it seems impossible but that the whole of the continent of Europe should fall into the hands of military despots; it seems equally impossible that we, with our American brethren, should lose our institutions or our enthusiasm for liberty. Here, then, are the two parties in the great cause that threatens to divide and convulse the whole world. What will be required of us? What attempts will be made on us? What crusades ought we spontaneously to undertake? What assistance in any case are we to expect from America? For our islands we have no fear. Despotism is great on land, but impotent and craven on the sea. Wherever our ships can go, there we have no compeer. As on the former occasion referred to by Mr. Walker, we protect the New World from the tyrannies of the Old. What, then, remains to be done? Are we expected to land on the continent of Europe, and fight single-handed with four huge military monarchies, mustering two or three millions of armed men? What degree of assistance are we to expect from America in marching into the centre of Europe? None, we should think. However, there are many things to be considered. A hundred years ago what was Russia? A hundred years hence what will be the United States? An empire, with not far short of two hundred million souls. Should anything happen to us,—should we ever be exposed to unmerited indignity and oppression, and our services to Europe be forgotten, we have only to pray, *Exortare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor*, and that the prayer will one day bring across, on occasion, the messengers of a state that can apply to its purpose the resources of a continent and two oceans."

To the above we may append an extract from a letter, dated December 9, 1851, from M. Louis Blanc, and printed in the *Daily News* of Thursday.

This is the immortal lesson contained in the events which have now occurred. I repeat it—let its bearing be studied, let it be understood. *The bourgeoisie and the people must be one, and all is saved.*

And when I say "all is saved," I speak not only of France.

"To divide Europe into three great empires—a Russian empire extending to Constantinople; an Austrian empire, with the definitive annexation of Italy; a French empire, with the addition of Belgium. From this new holy alliance between three great despotic empires to cause to arise a war to the death against the Democratic party, and against the Liberal and Constitutional party; to extinguish beneath the armies' tread that the absolutist powers call the revolutionary flame—that is to say, whatever lights the human spirit on the way of progress—and if England resists, to crush her."

Such is the plan (who can doubt it longer?)—such is the sacrilegious plan of which the sack of Paris is the commencement, and for the accomplishment of which Louis Bonaparte has delivered France into the hands of French Cossacks.

"On the reality of this plan, and on the abominable complicity which binds to the fortune of the Emperor Nicholas the ambition of Louis Bonaparte, I may be able very shortly to publish some proofs, which I am now in course of collecting. We can then judge of the important influence which Russian gold exercises in the humiliation and misfortunes of France."

The fact that Austrian and Prussian journals and rulers have welcomed the new usurper strengthens every suspicion, and the obvious complicity of the *Morning Post* makes some explanation imperative from Downing-street.

SHARMAN CRAWFORD AND ROCSDALE.

Rochdale is happy in having a representative like Mr. Sharmar Crawford, happy also in knowing how to appreciate him for his consistent integrity and unflinching devotion to the cause of the people. Rochdale elects its member free of expense, sends him to Parliament an independent man, requires of him very properly an account of his doings there, and handsomely acknowledges his services. On Thursday week Mr. Crawford gave in his account, and obtained a receipt in full with more than honourable mention; and on Friday, to celebrate the event, his constituents invited him to a public dinner. Mr. Bright, M.P. and Mr. Cobden, M.P. attended to testify the respect and esteem they feel for the man who is respected and esteemed by all radicals, by the generous among his opponents, and who is beloved by his tenantry in County Down.

At the dinner on Friday Mr. William Chadwick presided. The principal toasts were, "The Health of Mr. Crawford," "the Health of Mr. Bright," and "Success to the members of the late Anti-Corn Law League." All the toasts were received with great cheering; but Mr. Crawford having addressed the meeting at great length on the previous day, giving his annual explanation of his Parliamentary conduct, did not speak at any length. Mr. Bright made a speech echoing the faltering oration with which he introduced the programme of reform agreed to by the middle class conference at Manchester. It was Mr. Cobden who made the speech of the evening. He gave a humorous account of the venal process by which the majority of small boroughs elect their representatives. He showed that if constituents suffered themselves to be bought, they would have to endure being sold. And he described the tactics of Government when a ministerial crisis shakes the Cabinet, or a hostile motion seems likely to break it in pieces.

"The Government tells their whipper-in to send out a circular to all their usual supporters to come and see them in Downing-street. The members go down there to a large room, where the Minister of the day gets on a chair and addresses his friends and supporters, and tells them it is his duty to persevere in the course which he has undertaken, and he should regret exceedingly if for want of support he should find that he was no longer able to carry on the affairs of Government, and be obliged to resign, so that he is determined to stand or fall by the measure which he has proposed. Well, then, no sooner are we dismissed than the whisper goes round that the Minister intends to appeal to the country. Very well. Now, what do you think are the feelings which come across the mind of a man who has been deceived at St. Alban's, or Yarmouth, or Abingdon? For all the world it is as though some one stood over him with a bludgeon, prepared to demand his money or life; '£2500, or vote for the Ministry.' (Loud cheers and laughter.) And in sheer apprehension, in downright dread of this enormous fine that will be entailed upon him if he goes down for reflection, in order to escape this present of £2500, or whatever is the amount his election may have cost him the year before, he doubles up and packs up his conscience and votes against his convictions to keep the Ministry in power. (Cheers.) So that by the very fact of your having robbed this candidate when he stood for his election, you deprive him of his conscience and independence, inasmuch as he is terrified at the idea of having to come down to be robbed by you again. Now, there is another evil in which this results. I am letting you into some state secrets. (Laughter.) These are rich men who must pay this money. You cannot have men unless they can command money: you cannot have them in Parliament by such a process as I have been describing. Now, I am going to join in no vulgar abuse of rich men, because we all know that in this country you may find as good men, as disinterested men, and prudent men among the rich as among the poor; but still, after all, it is not desirable that all the men who sit in Parliament should be of necessity very rich men, because when you come to questions of economy or retrenchment these very rich men are very apt to measure salaries, official salaries, and other appointments, by a standard far above that which men of the ordinary middle rank of life, if they sat in Parliament, would be inclined to think was necessary. I will tell you what happened—for I said I was going to let you into secrets—what happened when my friend Mr. Bright and myself were sitting on a committee. I won't tell you what committee it was (laughter), because that would make it personal; but we were sitting together on a committee appointed to see if we could agree on a measure of retrenchment. The committee was appointed, some ten or a dozen of us; we met, and when we sat down to the table I said to my friend here, who sat beside me—I looked round and said, 'We should do nothing in this committee, however; for I don't believe, with the exception of you and me, there is a man here who is not worth more than £5000 a year, and it is not likely they will be for cutting down salaries.' Now, one of the effects of bringing a large portion of the community into the political arena, by giving them a right to vote, one of the effects I should wish to see follow would be a majority, strictly speaking, of the middle class of life—men who know what it is to struggle upwards in life—men who know the value of money, by having had to accumulate it by shillings or by pounds. I should like, if possible, to see a good admixture of that class of men in the House of Commons. (Cheers.)"

He rated the Radical constituencies on another point with very great justice. Independent boroughs send Radical representatives pledged to middle class Par-

liamentary Reform and Peace Society retrenchment. Some of these are able men; Government quick to perceive that makes an offer of place, employment; most likely the offered place is accepted, and the radical member goes down for reflection. What follows? In nine cases out of ten, reflection, and the Radical constituency becomes virtually a Government borough. With what justice then is the complaint made that the "Radical Party" can accomplish nothing? In the last crisis both Whig and Tory were sent for. The Queen did not dream of calling in the Radicals. Not only this, but both Whig and Tory took occasion to have a "special kick" at the Radicals thereupon. "Well," continued Mr. Cobden, laughing, "I don't complain of that; I don't complain that the Government don't send for me as an official."

"I don't want to have any mock modesty about it. I tell you honestly, that from opportunities I have had since I have been in Parliament of taking stock of the men who do fill official situations, I am not going to tell you that I believe I could not fill an office as well as any of them. (Cheers.) I am not going to affect any such humility, because it would be very great humility (great cheering and laughter); but I have no desire, no taste, for it. My cranial development, according to the phrenologists who have manipulated my head, does not show any great organ of self-esteem or ambition. I am abundantly satisfied, I am more than satisfied, with whatever of prominence or publicity, or fame if you like, I may have had in public life. I do not think it would add to my satisfaction, I am sure it could not to my usefulness, for me to be in office, and therefore I have no ambition to be sent for; but I want to see the men who are sent for in earnest to carry out their principles. I tell you how to do it—to follow the example set by Manchester, who, when their representative (Mr. Milner Gibson) was in the Ministry, plainly indicated that if their member joined the Government, it must carry out certain principles that Manchester desired. (Hear, hear.) They valued him too highly to sell him so cheap as to let him go for nothing. This is what will follow—that by retaining those men in our ranks that are now draughted off by the Whigs to become Attorneys-General or Solicitors-General or Masters of the Rolls, or anything you please—Lords of the Treasury or Secretaries of State—instead of draughting off these men from our ranks and taking them into the Whig Government, we shall keep them on our benches, and we shall very soon have a party—a party comprising so many men of talent and having such an amount of influence at our backs by the constituencies they represent—honest, firm, independent constituencies, who won't allow themselves to be made merchandise of for the aggrandizement of any individual—that we shall stand in a commanding position to say to the Government, 'You must send for us to carry these principles out.' (Cheers.) Now, I want the constituencies of this country—those to whom I have alluded—to follow the example of Manchester and Rochdale, and have sufficient self-respect not to allow their representatives to join any Government that is not going to carry out their principles."

Not until a late hour did the party separate. Mr. Crawford announced his intention of retiring from public life at the termination of the present Parliament.

CHURCH MATTERS.

On Tuesday the London Union on Church Matters held its monthly meeting at St. Martin's-hall, when a special report was read and adopted. It is a very important document. Setting out with the declaration that "the freedom of the Church is the one thing they should seek from the state," the committee proceed to sketch the conditions of practical action for the accomplishment of that object. They say wisely that they have not only to "marshal Church grievances" but to suggest a remedy. This is a simple aim, but its realization becomes complex.

In the first place, as they have to obtain their remedy from the state, they consider the "general aspect of political affairs," and having in view a general election they suggest to Churchmen their duty on that occasion. Incidentally they remark that in the coming Reform agitation they "see no peculiar reasons for alarm."

"They have confidence that the Divine goodness that has so signally blessed the free institutions of this country will yet preserve her, even though further changes be made in her constitution, and will give to Churchmen the means of applying to the future government of the Church of England the same principles which have preserved the material prosperity of the country while the greater portion of Europe was in confusion."

They recommend to Churchmen the putting away of political prepossessions, and they advise their friends very sagely.

"A dignified, calm, and moderate course, avoiding bitterness, sarcasm, and anything that could possibly be called tyranny or undue influence, is that which the committee would most strenuously recommend to their friends at the approaching election. Such a course, in fact, as is dictated by the consideration that the cause of God demands all our energies, but refuse to be helped by any action that is mean or wrong."

They agree that Parliament has a "claim to concur" in the legislation of the Church, but that it would be an outrage for Parliament to make laws for the Church. And they add by the way what seems to us to embody distinctly the great Sin of the Church,

and which we cannot consider as capable of being extenuated by any apology.

"It may be some apology for former anomalies, that Churchmen were ever willing to trust the bishops and the principal laity of the Church, who under the Sovereign, without the admixture of members of any other religion, formed that august assembly; but changes in its constitution, and still more in its dispositions, have opened our eyes, and we can no longer submit to what used to be tolerable."

They ask for a new law to enable the Church to make laws for itself. They cannot consistently or rightfully appeal to Parliament for the removal of grievances either in the framework of the Church or in exterior matters. And from this stand point they censure Parliamentary legislation for the Church, whether at the hands of the bishops or other eminent persons. The only thing they are prepared to admit is, that the assent of Parliament should be necessary for the validity of synodical decrees. The colonies must not be omitted. But to the decrees of their synods the assent of the local Legislature alone should be sufficient without reference to the Imperial Parliament.

Looking to the two sources from whence authority to hold synods may be derived, they decline the royal licence, because its validity has been questioned, and ask for an act of Parliament.

"The committee, therefore, consider that the first, and for the present the only step in Church reform, ought to be the introduction of a bill to give the royal licence to the convocations of the provinces of England and Ireland to make canons that shall provide for the reform of those bodies, and the fitting of them to be hereafter the legislature of the Church in each province—a legislature that should have full power to enact canons which should not need the sanction of Parliament *seriatim*. And further, that the bishops and the governors of the different colonies should have liberty to call together, with the like licence, the bishops, the clergy, and deputies of the laity, in such a manner and within such limits as they may agree on. And that the provincial Parliaments, or the governor, where there is no provincial Parliament, shall have the same power of ratifying the canons made by common consent of the bishops, clergy and laity for their several colonies, and of granting to the legislatures so constituted civil rights, as is possessed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom for these islands, excepting only changes in the Prayer-book."

Whether there shall be a central authority for the whole Church of the empire is discussed and then left on one side as too premature for practical action.

"The course proposed by the committee likewise gives Parliament and the different local legislatures in the colonies, including, of course, her Majesty, or her representatives, as the case may be, the full power hereafter of confirming or rejecting what may be proposed, and of granting such powers, and such powers only, as may be thought expedient. It deals as lightly as possible with the great question of who are the laity—a question on which it is not becoming that Parliament, as at present constituted, should dictate; but which your committee conceive can only be settled by a Church assembly to mean those in actual full communion, as regular communicants of some standing."

And further:—

"This plan, therefore, seems to give every security that caution can demand, for the wholesome and gradual introduction of what cannot fail to be most important and momentous changes. Each step will be under the control of Parliament. If prerogatives of the Crown need to be modified, they must be given up on behalf of the Crown distinctly and explicitly by the Minister of the day. Each step must be matter of separate treaty. There can be no possible room for what is called Church usurpation; and it is fitting that anything which tends to alter the relations of Church and State should be dealt with thus cautiously."

"What the ultimate arrangements of the future might be it is plainly impossible to predict. The temper of Parliament, however, and the habits of the age may enable us to lay down two or three landmarks."

"There can be no doubt, your committee think, that the power of appointing courts of appeal on questions of doctrine will be freely conceded to the Church legislatures, when constituted in such a way as Parliament can approve of. That the power exercised over the courts of the Church by those of the Crown will remain as heretofore, and that the control over property and rights of patronage, whether vested in the Crown or in others, will be jealously watched. The Crown and the Legislature are, in fact, the great protectors of persons and property, and may not part with any share in these duties without the greatest circumspection; they are not the judges of doctrine; and, whatever may be the fears of individuals, a Cæsaropapacy is a monster that will not stand the close inspection of the nineteenth century. What we have to fear is an unwillingness to admit changes, or to see the reasonableness of what we demand; and against this tendency, which is, in fact, to maintain a parliamentary papacy, we can but urge the hardship that a body comprising all denominations should continue to rule the Church of England, and we can but endeavour to place our cause in the clearest light, and to free it from misapprehension."

The paragraph relating to the question of the burial of Dissenters, and all it involves, contains curious matter.

"Those who contribute to the maintenance of the Church have civil rights connected with it. We cannot get rid of the civil rights of parishioners without some

modification of their liabilities; and such civil rights are so connected with the ordinances of our religion as to be an outrage on us. When the laity are enabled to assent as a body to the decisions of the Church, we cannot doubt that they will prove themselves reasonably disposed to establish discipline, since there will then be no pretence for jealousy of the clergy. The Legislature of the state and that of the Church will hereafter have to arrange together the powers of a secular kind which the State will have to concede to the Church for her independent self-government, and the corresponding concessions the Church will have to make. It is not difficult to see that a modification of the law of church-rate will have to be made, and that the powers and operation of the Church courts will have to be reconsidered. All compulsory power over dissenters, and such as may declare themselves no longer members of the Church, must be abolished, as well as the power of enforcing censures or punishing contumacy with imprisonment; and means must be found to diminish costs. If any of the existing powers are suffered to remain, as probably they must in questions of matrimony, and because (even if the jurisdiction over wills is taken away from the Church) questions of property may still arise in her courts, it must be clearly understood that they remain for the good of the community generally, and not for the honour or advantage of the Church. Such powers as are particularly null for all purposes of discipline, we should gladly see abandoned; they were granted under widely different circumstances, and we must look to facts, and not to antiquarianism."

The education question they desire may be postponed, as the difficulties of adjusting sectarian interests are inexplicable. Other matters of minor, though great, importance are treated in detail. This report is one of those documents which mark an epoch in the life of a movement.

ARCHDEACON DENISON AND THE NATIONAL SOCIETY.

The Archdeacon of Taunton has forwarded to us the following correspondence:—

East Brent, December 6, 1851.

FELLOW CHURCHMEN,—The resolutions which I purpose, God willing, to move at the annual meeting of the National Society for promoting the Education of the Poor in the principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales, 1852, are now before you.

I appeal to you—as you value the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England—as you would not have the teaching and the training of her schools frittered away piecemeal, till both fall "facili descensu" into the lowest latitudinarianism—as you would not have the great Educational Society of the Church reduced into a branch agency of a state department—I appeal to you to insure the carrying of these resolutions by a great majority.

The thing will be done, and well done, if each one of us will make it his personal concern to see that it is done, and not trust to others to do it.

A little of that spirit so wonderfully expressed by the great historian will go far towards redeeming the present unhappy position of the Church of England:—

ΕΝ ΤΑΥΤῃ Τῃ ΚΕΚΑΙΝΩΜΕΝῃ ΕΔΟΚΕ ΙΚΑΣΤῷ Τῷ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΙ, ὡς ΜΗ ΤΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΡΕΣΤΑΙ.

It will be necessary that the division be taken, not as on previous occasions, by a show of hands, but by telling of votes.

I am, your faithful servant in Christ,
GEORGE A. DENISON, Archdeacon of Taunton.

London, December 4, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR,—Will you have the goodness to acknowledge the receipt of the inclosed copy of resolutions, which I am about to publish, and to lay them before the Committee of the National Society?

Very faithfully yours,

GEORGE A. DENISON, Archdeacon of Taunton.
Reverend the Secretary of the National Society.

"RESOLUTIONS TO BE MOVED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY, 1852."

"I. Whereas the following sentence—referring to the alleged practice of managers of schools in union with the National Society in abstaining from teaching, and giving instruction in, the Catechism of the Church of England to all scholars admitted into such schools—is found in the report of Joseph Fletcher, Esq., her Majesty's Inspector of Schools:—

"If I am rightly informed, the practice of at least half of the national schools is to respect the feelings of Dissenters in this particular, so strongly does the moral sense protest against the fundamental rule of their union which refuses to do so; and as the real interests of the Church are on the side of the more liberal course, I would fain persuade myself that a majority of her clergy will avow, as well as practise it, and thus enter upon a new era in our history, that of the established school."

"And whereas the Lord Bishop of Manchester, in a speech delivered at a meeting of the promoters of the Manchester and Salford education scheme, held at Manchester, December 2, 1851, has used the following language:—

"My grief for years has been both openly and privately expressed that the charter of the National Society has been imposing on the great body of the clergy, of the community, of the kingdom, conditions the most degrading, and a situation the most humiliating. It has made its first term of union and condition that the chil-

dren in the schools shall learn the Catechism of the Church of England. Now, I believe, maintain, defend the Catechism; but I will ask my reverend brethren around me, and in the diocese not only of Manchester but in the whole of England, in how many of these schools has not that article of union been taken out first, and in how many of these schools is it not, at the present moment, deliberately and systematically violated? So far from contravening the charter of the National Society, I have ever regretted, and I still regret, that a charter so ill advised in wording was ever issued by the Crown; and I have sought, and seek to call on you tonight, to aid with us in carrying the measure from a higher authority, the three estates of the Legislature of this kingdom, which shall override and overturn the conditions of that charter, and release the clergy of England at large from this most improper and unworthy thralldom."

"And whereas the practice herein publicly imputed to managers of schools in union with the National Society is a departure from the principles of the charter, and a violation of the terms of union:

"This meeting hereby respectfully requests the committee—in whom the government of the society is vested by charter—to make public declaration that it is not with the sanction and approval of the committee that such practice is pursued in any case by managers of a school in union with the National Society."

"II. That this meeting deeply regrets the continued refusal of her Majesty's Government to make a building grant to founders of a school who require it to be inserted in the trust deed that the management of the school be solely in the clergyman of the parish, with appeal to the bishop of the diocese."

"III. That this meeting deeply regrets the continued refusal of her Majesty's Government to make a building grant to founders of a school who require it to be inserted in the trust deed that the master and mistress of the school be 'Communicants.'"

"(Signed) GEORGE A. DENISON,
Archdeacon of Taunton."

National Society's Office, Sanctuary, Westminster,
December 4, 1851.

DEAR SIR,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this day's date, together with a copy of certain resolutions to be moved at the annual meeting of this society in 1852.

I will submit these documents to the committee of the society at the first opportunity.

I am, dear Sir, yours very faithfully,

JOHN G. LONSDALE, Secretary.

The Venerable Archdeacon Denison.

VOLUNTARY EDUCATION.

A Conference was held at Crosby-hall, on Tuesday, by the members of the Voluntary Education Society. Of course, they are equally opposed to the Manchester scheme of secular instruction, and to the system adopted by the Congregational Union, of giving instruction through their own denomination alone. There were not more than 100 persons, the half of whom were ladies, present on the occasion. Mr. G. W. Alexander took the chair; and on the platform there were also Mr. Sturge, of Birmingham; Mr. Charles Gilpin, of London, and others; Dr. Cox, the Reverend Howard Hinton, and the Reverend Mr. Brock, Baptist ministers, of London; the Reverend John Burnet, Independent; and Mr. Edward Miall. Papers were read on education, and the following resolutions agreed to.

"That in the judgment of this Conference it is not only important, but indispensable, that the education supplied by public schools should be religious, not merely by comprehending periodical scriptural instruction, but as impregnated habitually with a religious spirit on account of the momentous relation of religious culture to the present and future welfare of the scholars, of the inestimable value of the opportunities afforded by the years spent under scholastic training, and of the obligations arising out of the occupation by the schoolmaster, during the period, of a parental position towards the children committed to his care. And it is further the judgment of this Conference, that no arrangement for religious instruction collateral to a system of secular education can effectually supply the religious culture required; That, in the opinion of this conference, any attempt to bring the children of the poorer classes under school instruction by means of compelling rates levied for the supply and maintenance of educational institutions, would be an application of the powers of law to purposes beyond the proper sphere of its authority; and, unless followed up by measures equally impolitic and impracticable, for compelling school attendance, would fall of adding to those already under instruction anything approaching to the number commonly anticipated, and obviously required to justify so serious a change in the course hitherto pursued in this country, to extend educational advantages to such as cannot out of their own means command them; and That, in the judgment of this conference, where different denominations of Christians can cooperate in promoting education without any sacrifice of truth, or surrender of principle, it is better that they should combine in one organization, than that each should act in its denominational capacity; as union would give strength and dignity to their movements, greatly economise their resources and energies, comprehend much valuable aid which would otherwise be lost to the cause, and tend to promote kindly and brotherly feelings among the bodies so associated in the accomplishment of a common good."

CUSTOMS' REFORM.

A deputation waited on Lord John Russell, on Tuesday, appointed by the public meeting on Customs' Reform, held on Wednesday week, in the City. Fourteen members of Parliament, headed by Mr. Masterman, and accompanied by a numerous body of merchants, composed the deputation. Mr. Travers, the chairman of the committee of merchants, read a long statement, comprising the case of the merchants against the Board of Customs, and being a recapitulation in an official form of the facts brought to light by the February trials and their attendant circumstances.

In reply Lord John Russell fenced with the question. He introduced his answer by observing that he could not be expected to accede to the statement of facts or reject it; that the Customs and the Treasury were very intimately connected; he had heard Mr. Huskisson say he had reformed the customs' laws, and Mr. Huskisson was a man who ought to know; and yet in spite of all this the laws possibly were capable of being improved. At length he reached the kernel of the matter.

"Looking at the very grave charges against the Board, it is my bounden duty to do them the justice not to suppose that the Board of Customs are guilty because they are charged; but to inquire into the facts alleged, and learn from the head of the Board and from the other members what they have to say in answer to them. Without entering into the various particulars stated with regard to the dock prosecutions, I should say generally that it does not follow because there are very respectable men belonging to the dock companies, that therefore frauds may not have occurred, or that their officers may not have participated in those frauds.

The Board of Customs were persuaded of the existence of these frauds to a very great extent—perhaps wrongly persuaded, but they made that representation to the Treasury; and it would have been a very grave responsibility for the Treasury to take upon itself, and certainly (if I may be allowed to say so) for me, as a representative of the city of London, to take upon myself to say, if the Commissioners of Customs were fully advised by their legal officer that they had been defrauded, and that they ought to go before a court of law, that we would not allow it, but prevent them from protecting the revenue from loss, and the merchants of London in general from interference with their trade. And when at a former interview, at which the Chancellor of the Exchequer was present with me, we were asked to put a stop to the proceedings altogether, we did not find that the Commissioners of Customs had any doubts as to the course they were pursuing; and it would, therefore, have been a serious matter for the Treasury to have arrested them. With regard to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, something is stated here [the document handed in by Mr. Travers] about 'remonstrances against such unheard-of acts' having been received by him 'with disregard, and dismissed with discourtesy.' 'He has persevered in the infliction of wrong until its very enormity has alarmed its victims into submission.' I cannot admit the justice of these complaints. I think he was bound not to interfere with the course which the Board of Customs recommended. He stated the whole matter to me, we conferred upon it, and we thought it was not possible for us to interfere. Another allegation is that 'he has broken the conditions of an honourable understanding,' and 'technical legal admissions were drawn from the London Dock Company, which rendered future resistance impracticable.' I do not know what this alludes to; but there is a certain allegation about a £5 fine being raised to £100. Now, a representation was made to me that when a case of this kind occurred in 1817 or 1818, a payment was made of one per cent. on all that had been seized, together with all the expenses of the suit; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer said it would be much better to get rid of this matter altogether, and that, instead of £5, an arrangement should be made to take £100, and so put an end to it at once.

"With regard to the general statement that the Board of Customs, if they were wrong, ought not to be excupated, and if they were right, ought to have proved their charges, and should not have entered into any compromise, every gentleman knows, with regard to revenue boards, that over and over again prosecutions have been instituted with regard to irregularities, and that constantly the practice has been to give up the whole of the proceedings on the payment of a certain sum. With regard to that very important point, the re-appointment of the select committee, I know of no actual objection to its reappointment, but I do not pledge myself to that course now; because, on considering this paper, I should like perhaps to confer with the chairman of the committee of last session (Mr. Mitchell) with respect to the advantages which are likely to accrue from the step."

Mr. Alderman Thompson rejoined, that both the Commissioners of the Customs and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had refused a joint inquiry into possible irregularities, offered by the dock companies, with discourtesy; in fact, that the committee had treated them, not as merchants of the city of London, but "like a set of swindlers or smugglers on the coast of Kent."

Mr. Powles, secretary of the London Dock Company, stated that the understanding about the payment of a fine of five pounds was "as clear and distinct as any understanding contained in any communication could be," and that understanding had been unceremoniously broken by the Government. Mr. Mitchell, M.P., suggested that Lord Granville, who was present, should be requested to read the

evidence of the Select Committee, issued to-day, and "come to an unbiased opinion on the case." After a statement of individual grievance from Mr. Hall, the deputation retired.

A DEFENDER OF "LAW AND ORDER."

Whig officials are driven to choose strange champions of "law and order," as those abused terms have been employed during the last three years. From proceedings in the Dublin law courts we obtain a specimen defender of law and order—for a consideration—whom the Whigs delighted to honour, through Mr. Corry Connelan. The facts are extremely simple.

Mr. Birch is the proprietor of a Dublin newspaper, designated the *World*, which, in the year 1848, became the organ of the Castle. At that time, as everybody knows, Ireland was in a very dangerous state; and, whilst the revolutionary or "Young Ireland" party was represented in the public press by writers who combined very high ability with exuberant political enthusiasm, the Government possessed no literary allies whatever. The Dublin officials, with a respect for public opinion which does them great credit, were deeply grieved at the absence of all popular support; and, with a view to repair their inferiority of moral force, they descended into the arena of journalism, and retained the *World*. That newspaper became the exponent of the policy of the Castle, and, for a certain consideration, undertook, in those troublous times, to promote the cause of "law and order." The patriotic and conscientious Birch became the advocate and apologist of Lord Clarendon, and devoted the columns of his journal to supporting the interests of the Irish Government. It appears from the evidence that the *World* was strictly conscientious; yet Lord Clarendon successfully coquetted with it, and obtained its unswerving advocacy.

Lord Palmerston also came in for a share of the benefits derived from the stupendous alliance. For two years the Government "subsidized" this "power"; that is, so long as in Whig estimation law and order were endangered. But Birch, animated by a fiery zeal and devotion for the cause, continued to indite articles which nobody read. Then Government, ungrateful, ceased to pay, and Birch brought his action. So long as he came before the public menacing the Castle with war there was romance and mystery in the case.

But the romance is dispelled in the prosaic atmosphere of the Queen's Bench. A regular debtor and creditor account is submitted by Birch, from which we learn that a large sum of money has been actually paid by Lord Clarendon, from his personal resources, to reward the assistance afforded by the *World* to his Government; and we also find that its distinguished proprietor, not contented with the reward which he had received, and strongly impressed with a sense of the magnitude of the services which he had rendered—boldly asked for a very large additional subsidy. As the original transaction had taken place in the office of the Irish Secretary, Sir William Somerville was the ostensible defendant. The witnesses who were called fully established the agreement between the eminent journalist and his official clients, and the only question which remained to be decided was, whether the services rendered by the plaintiff had been fairly remunerated. Some thousands of pounds had been already received by Birch during the years 1848 and 1849, but he placed his demands at a much higher figure. In his evidence he drew a nice distinction; for, whilst he admitted that all that had been written by himself or his subordinates had been a conscientious expression of his real opinions, he rested his claims to recompense on the great unpopularity of the Government. The case was fairly gone into; and, after a patient and elaborate investigation, the jury gave him damages to the amount of sixpence.

Nothing could surpass in candour and amiability the evidence both of Mr. Birch and Lord Clarendon. Birch admitted his position, of course, as a hireling; Clarendon confessed, with complacent sarcasm, to the hiring of the "defender"; confessed that he paid the money out of his own pocket, "every farthing" of upwards of three thousand pounds. This is all very well. But what shall we say of the cause of Irish "law and order" as administered by Whigs, when we find that the Government had not one spontaneous defender in the capital of the country? One thing is clear, some of the ministerial press are hired. Possibly they are the "base exceptions"—for there are more than one.

A PLAN FOR RELIEVING THE IRISH POOR.

[We have received the following letter to Lord John Russell, from Sir James Anderson, Baronet.]

London, December 6, 1851.

MY LORD,—Since the Exodus of the Israelites, no nation ever emigrated in such masses as the Irish people are now doing, and unless some prompt and decided plan be adopted by Government, the brave and hardy working classes of the Emerald Isle will ere long have become the subjects of a foreign rival

state. Such an irremediable loss is beyond human calculation, and will inevitably be the precursor of the decadence of British power. It, therefore, becomes the duty of every lover of his country to endeavour to point out a remedy to prevent so calamitous an event.

The last dreadful famine has aroused the sympathy of the English and the Scotch. The honest and liberal of both nations have willed that justice shall at length be rendered to their fellow Irish subjects. I consequently anticipate a glorious change for the better.

That it is the duty of Parliament to enact such laws as will permanently secure to the Irish their rights, no reasonable man can deny. To accomplish that desirable end, I hold it would be unjust to the overtaxed people of Great Britain to augment their burdens when ample means are within our reach.

By the labour of man the wealth and power of a state is solely augmented, and it behoves a wise Government to secure to all industrious persons a permanent interest in their native land. So circumstanced, no rational being will quit the country of his birth. Fully believing this to be the case, I take the liberty to suggest the following outline of a plan for profitably employing and relieving the Irish poor, and thus make it their interest not to emigrate, which I hope will meet your Lordship's approval.

I propose that Government be empowered by Parliament to issue £16,000,000 in labour notes, which should be made a legal tender in Ireland, and not convertible. That Government be also empowered to purchase from the present owners all the reclaimable waste lands, to be paid for in labour notes at one shilling an acre, at twenty years' purchase, to be vested in commissioners in trust, for the purpose of locating thereon the able-bodied poor, appropriating to each family twenty acres. That £100 in labour notes be laid out for establishing each tenant, as follows:—

For erecting a cottage.....	£34	0	0
A cow, four sheep, and one pig..	12	0	0
Furniture.....	10	0	0
Seeds and implements.....	4	0	0
One year's rations.....	20	0	0
The produce of 20 acres, 1s. an acre, at 20 years' purchase....	20	0	0
	£100	0	0

That no rent be charged during the first three years. This indulgence will enable the tenants to get their lands into cultivation. At the expiration of three years a rent of £5 per annum to be paid for each location. The lands to be free from tithes, county and poor rates, for twenty years.

On 3,000,000 acres, allowing twenty acres to each tenant, 150,000 locations can be established by an advance of £16,000,000 in labour notes, viz.:—

150,000 locations, at £100 each.....	£15,000,000
Making roads and draining lands, &c.,	1,000,000
	£16,000,000

That all minerals shall be the property of the state. That leases shall be granted for thirty-one years, renewable for ever on good behaviour; but subletting on no account to be permitted. The leases to be forfeited should the tenants aid in rebellion, join illegal associations, or be implicated in murders or robberies. The men on the locations to be regularly drilled.

Thus a force of at least 100,000 men, costing the nation nothing, unless when called into active service, would be ready to defend the kingdom in case of invasion, and each man, possessing an interest in the land, could always be depended on. At the end of the fourth year and thenceforward, from 150,000 locations, at £5 each, £750,000 would be the annual rental. All the necessary expenses for managing these home colonies, for building places of worship, for schools, hospitals, and medical attendance to be first paid out of the proceeds. The balance to be expended in working the mines which may be found in the lands, in establishing fisheries, and in giving other useful and profitable employment to the people. That this annual expenditure be continued for fifty years, when in that period lands now unproductive will have produced in rent £37,500,000, besides providing amply for an industrious population. That sum expended on reproductive works, cannot fail to raise the destitute Irish to a state of comfort, independence, and happiness; and the heart-rending misery, so long and so patiently endured by that oppressed people, will cease to exist. The bond of union between the British and Irish nations will be permanently cemented, the power of the state consequently augmented, and all these great advantages can be attained without either loans or increased taxation.

As capital is the great want in Ireland, I have proposed that labour notes to the extent of £16,000,000 shall continue in circulation for fifty years. At the expiration of that period, £700,000 of those notes received for the rent of the locations, can be annually destroyed, should it be considered advisable to do so, leaving £50,000 a-year to defray the expense of schools, hospitals, management, &c. The object I have in view in making the labour notes nonconvert-

ible is to secure those remaining in circulation in Ireland, and thus prevent a continuance of the loss sustained by absenteeism.

Up to the late dreadful famine year, 1846, since the Union forty-five years had elapsed, and £5,000,000 had annually been drawn from Ireland by absentees, amounting to £225,000,000. Had that enormous sum been kept circulating in giving employment to its producers, as it ought to have been applied, the Irish would now be a prosperous nation, in place of being the most wretched on the earth, although united to, and governed by the Parliament of, the wealthiest people in the world. The *Times* has repeatedly stated that the withdrawal of £10,000,000 in one year, to relieve the starving Irish was seriously felt in this prosperous country. Who, then, can in justice deny that the annual drain of £5,000,000, continuing for forty-five years, amounting to £225,000,000, is the principal cause of Irish destitution? Such a national disgrace would have been prevented, had the majorities in the British Parliament, who, since the Union, have legislated for Ireland, done their duty by enacting such just laws as would have secured to the Irish people the full benefit of their labour. From this dereliction the most calamitous consequences have resulted, unprecedented in any other civilized country. It cannot, therefore, with truth be denied that Ireland has a just claim against Great Britain. To liquidate the debt, and permanently improve the social condition of my poor countrymen, I ask £16,000,000 in labour notes, which, on a population of 6,000,000, gives but £2. 13s. 4d. a head, and will only cost the price of paper and printing. This credit amounts to a little more than one-sixteenth of the £225,000,000 which have been drawn from Ireland since the Union, four-fifths of which have been expended in England.

By means of the labour notes, the Irish can be profitably employed, a large revenue raised out of the waste lands, and £3,000,000 paid to its owners, which would enable them to improve their estates, and by employing the labourers considerably diminish the poor rates, and increase the produce of the soil. A new market would be created at home for British manufactures, and that greatest of all disgraces to this kingdom, the pauperized Irish, can be changed into an independent, remuneratively employed, fairly paid, and consequently contented people.

My patriotic father has proved to the nation how the resources of Ireland can be developed, and I am proud to know that the history of no other country furnishes a like example of such lasting public benefits as those conferred upon his adopted country, at his own expense, by John Anderson, of Fernoy, under whose able directions I have had great practical experience. I, therefore, feel a confidence that my plan, if promptly and energetically acted on, will speedily change the present deplorable condition of the Irish working classes, into a state of happiness and comfort, based on industrious remunerative occupation and self-relying independence.

I have the honour to remain, my lord, your most obedient humble servant,

JAMES C. ANDERSON.

The Right Honourable Lord John Russell.

INTRAMURAL INTELEMENTS.

A deputation from the London Necropolis and National Mausoleum Company, consisting of Sir James Duke, Baronet, M.P.; Mr. H. C. Lacey, M.P.; Mr. W. J. Voules, Mr. J. Gardiner, Mr. C. R. Thompson, Mr. F. Robinson, Mr. W. A. Coombe, Mr. H. R. Abraham, Mr. R. Churchill, attended Lord John Russell, on Friday week, at his lordship's official residence, Downing-street, to submit their views in reference to the above subject, when the following points were propounded to his lordship in reference to their site at Woking:—That the site comprises nearly 2000 acres available for burial purposes; that it is within forty minutes of the most central of the London termini, that of the South-Western Railway, which passes through the land; that the soil at Woking is highly suitable for burial purposes, consisting of gravel and dry sand; that the land is, moreover, of great elevation, dryness, and natural beauty—of an undulating surface, and well adapted to the growth of appropriate and ornamental vegetation; that the land has been obtained for the sum of £35,000, and can be rendered available immediately at a very trifling additional outlay, and that the whole cost of adequate chapel accommodation necessary, and ornamental buildings, fencing, &c., will not exceed £93,000; that the company are thus enabled to present, and to bind to themselves to the adoption, of a tariff by which all classes of funerals will be conducted at a cost of 25 per cent. less than that at present incurred by the inhabitants of the metropolis for burial in the nearest graveyards and cemeteries; that the pauper funerals will only be charged 15s., with permission to send one or two attendants to Woking and back. That the above expenditure shows not only an individual saving of twenty-five per cent., but renders wholly unnecessary any advance on the part of the Government, or any rate upon the parishes for a cemetery. The company contemplates the creation of a fund included in their charges for the compensation of the incumbents of those parishes from which bodies are removed, so that they will continue to receive the fees on interment without being called upon, except when desired, to discharge the duty.

Mr. J. Voules, the deputy-chairman, said he submitted the above statement with confidence to Lord John Russell for recognition, not only on the extensive merits of

the plan and site, but because it superseded the necessity for any advance of public money, and obviated the delay which was so universally deprecated.

The deputation met with a most courteous reception, and, after making several pertinent inquiries as to the intentions of the company, his lordship promised to communicate with Lord Seymour on the details.

THE LONDON NECROPOLIS AND NATIONAL MAUSOLEUM COMPANY.

A deputation, consisting of the following gentlemen, Sir James Duke, Baronet, M.P.; W. J. Voules, deputy-chairman; C. R. Thompson, Esq., John Gardiner, Esq., directors; W. A. Coombe, Esq., solicitor to the company; H. R. Abraham, Esq., architect; and Mr. Richard Churchill, secretary; had the honour of an interview with Lord Seymour, at the Office of Works, on Wednesday morning, when the deputy-chairman and surveyor mutually explained the proceedings and plans of the company, particularly in reference to the great saving effected by the adoption of their tariff—the cost of paper funerals, only 15s., with liberty to send one or two attendants to Woking and back—that of the class immediately above the poor, including the proposed compensation to the incumbents of parishes from which bodies are removed, £1. 5s. The deputy-chairman, in reply to Lord Seymour's inquiries, said that the company proposed to appropriate portions of their site to the different parishes, who would thus have the control over their separate grounds, and have their own clergy to officiate, if desired, and at the same time be enabled to avail themselves of the inexpensive mode of transit and the ample staff provided by the company; and that the notices of application to Parliament had been duly given, and the petition for the bill would be presented at the earliest possible period. The foregoing points were particularly dwelt upon by Lord Seymour, who received the deputation very courteously; and, in conclusion, the deputy-chairman said he trusted his lordship would recognize in the arrangements of the company the solution of the difficulty of providing for immediate extramural interment without calling upon Parliament or the parishes for the advance of one fraction of the public money.

HORRIBLE AGRARIAN MURDER.

One of those crimes peculiar almost to Ireland was perpetrated last week near Dundalk. On Thursday week, about the hour of two o'clock, Thomas Douglas Bateson, brother to Sir R. Bateson, of Derry, and agent to Lord Templeton's property, situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Dundalk, went out to visit a model farm at a place called Currantey. The model farm is about a mile from Castleblaney. Having arrived there, he inspected a large number of labourers and tradesmen whom he had employed, and at a quarter after four o'clock he proceeded to return to Castleblaney. On each side of the Armagh road, in a beautiful and romantic district, stand three houses in a triangular position, and a number of small groves of fir-trees are planted here, which afford a sort of covert. One of the houses (the glebe, occupied by the Reverend Mr. Hurst) overlooks the road. As Mr. Bateson arrived at this spot, when about equi-distant from the habitations, a boy named Bailie, aged thirteen, being distant about 100 yards, while driving home his father's cows, saw a shot fired; saw three men attack Mr. Bateson with short sticks or pistols; heard the sound of the blows as if a stick were struck against a ditch, followed by a dreadful struggle, in which Mr. Bateson got upon his feet three times, until he was struck down for ever. It would appear that about ten minutes after the attack the Armagh omnibus passed by, when Mr. Bateson was found lying in the ditch on his face and groaning heavily. He was perfectly insensible. His hat was discovered twelve yards behind where he was found lying. On being brought into Dundalk Dr. McBirney was in immediate attendance, and removed three loose portions of the left temporal bone, laying bare the brain, and part of the brain was found on his coat. The wound appeared as if inflicted by some blunt instrument. On the spot was found a large stone covered with blood and hair, also two pistols, one of which had been recently discharged; the other was loaded, but the percussion cap was broken. The pistols were also covered with blood and hair. Mr. Bateson lingered a few hours and died. A correspondent of the *Newry Examiner* writes of him with great praise:—"Mr. Bateson was unmarried. He was, I understand, a man of the most benevolent disposition, and in giving charity he never asked the creed of the object. He was instrumental in effecting an abatement of 3s. in the £1 last year. He caused the whole county cess to be paid on the estate, and he gave full labour to every tenant on the estate who wished to pay his rent by labour, at the rate of 1s. per day, summer and winter. Other things I have been told in his favour, which I have not now time to mention. I have heard nothing against him. In fact, he was held up in the neighbourhood as a sort of model both to landlords and agents; and now that he lies upon a bed of death it is piteous to hear the lamentations of the poor who were the objects of his bounty."

An inquest was held on Saturday, at Castleblaney, on the remains of Mr. Bateson; and several witnesses having spoken to the facts connected with the frightful occurrence, as already detailed, a verdict of "Wilful murder against three or more men unknown," was returned.

SERIOUS EXPLOSIONS.

Three explosions, in one instance attended with loss of life, occurred on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. On Friday the principal boiler in the paper mills of Mr. Woodfall, at Footscray, burst, carrying away upwards of twenty feet of the frontage of the mill, and damaging considerably the outbuildings, knocking away the chimney of Mr. Woodfall's dwelling-house, and smashing in a quantity of window glass of the adjoining houses. The force of the explosion was such that the iron girders

were torn from their hold, and driven through several tons of coal which were lying in the front of the river, and a double tube, weighing three tons, was blown more than 100 feet up the stream; a piece of timber, exceeding one cwt., was blown 600 feet. About 100 persons were in the mill at the time, and the whole of them escaped personal injury. The boiler is said to have been thoroughly repaired only about ten days since. The damage exceeds £1000; Mr. Woodfall is insured.

Gas is not less powerful than steam. On Sunday morning the good people of Brownlow-hill and Clarence-street, Liverpool, were alarmed by a loud report, resembling the discharge of cannon, and followed by a rumbling noise which continued for some moments, which subsequently turned out to be caused by an explosion of gas in house No. 4, Clarence-street, occupied by Mr. Thomas Smith. Being annoyed by the smell of gas, he inspected the premises, and concluded all was safe; but when his son entered the front room of the house with a candle, at eight o'clock in the morning, he observed a blue flame arise, and was then knocked down, fortunately receiving but slight injury beyond the scorching and discoloration of his hair and eyebrows. The gas exploded, the whole of the front and back parts of the house, three stories high, were driven outwards, the floors of the rooms separated from the walls, and the wall, windows, and doors of the small kitchen in the rear of the premises, forced against the back entrance, so as to prevent the possibility of ingress or egress. But few of the windows were broken. The house is now propped up, both front and rear, to keep it from falling, until it can be taken down and rebuilt.

Fire-damp, more destructive than either steam or gas, kills its victims. The colliery district around Sheffield, so noted for disastrous mining explosions, was the scene of another sad calamity on Saturday last, when three young men perished in the Woodthorpe colliery, two miles and a half south of Sheffield. Their names were Charles Stones, aged twenty-three, unmarried; and Samuel Bacon and William Ramsden, youths of about eighteen years old, both of Handsworth, Woodhouse. There was one avenue in the pit that was surcharged with inflammable gas, so that all the colliers avoided taking exposed lights into it. But Ramsden, though a collier, was a stranger there. He had descended the pit to visit Bacon, his companion; and, for some reason unknown, he went into the dangerous board-hole with a naked candle. The consequence was, that his light caused an instantaneous explosion, so powerful as to project large quantities of debris out of the mouth of the shaft, which is 164 yards deep. Ramsden was consumed to ashes. Stones and Bacon, who were respectively fifteen and forty yards nearer the shaft, were killed by the concussion. The pit is ventilated by only one shaft instead of two.

A coal-ship bound to Bremen was brought into Ramsgate harbour a complete wreck, on Monday. While of Dungeness gas generated from the coals suddenly exploded, shattering the vessel and killing two men out of four who were on deck. The crew were saved by a Deal boat.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Mr. John Simon has presented another elaborate report to the City Commission of Sewers, urging that body to carry out great and effective measures of sanitary reform.

Several breaches of the Factory Act having taken place lately in the manufacturing districts, the delegates met on Sunday, at the Cocoa Tree, Ancoats, Manchester, to consider what is to be done to enforce the law.

Dr. Grant, Roman Catholic Bishop of Southwark, assisted by Dr. Morris, Bishop of Troy, and Cardinal Wiseman, performed, on Tuesday, Pontifical high mass at the opening of the new Catholic church on Croomer-hill, Greenwich, dedicated to "Our Lady, the Star of the Sea."

Two thousand young men of the metropolis presented to Mr. Hitchcock a likeness of himself, painted by Sir J. W. Gordon R.A., at the Freemasons'-tavern on Monday evening, as a testimony of their appreciation of his "noble efforts to secure the abridgement of long hours of business."

A deputation from the National Parliamentary Reform Association met the inhabitants of the Tower Hamlets on Tuesday. Resolutions were passed declaring that any measure less than the extension of the suffrage to every occupier of a house, or part of a house, the arrangement of equalized electoral districts, vote by ballot, triennial parliaments, and the abolition of the property qualification required of members, would fail to meet the wants and to satisfy the just expectations of the people.

At a privy counsel held on the 8th, at Dublin, the district of the county of Monaghan, in which the murder of Mr. Thomas D. Bateson was perpetrated on Thursday last, was proclaimed under the Crime and Outrage Act. The district embraces the parishes of Clontarf and Muckno, in the barony of Cremorne. On the same occasion, the parishes of Derrynoose and Keady, in the baronies of Tiranny and Armagh, county of Armagh, were proclaimed, that locality being one of those in which the Ribbon conspiracy is known to be most rife. The Lord Lieutenant presided at the council.

Kossuth's striking use of texts from our great dramatist, has already suggested a gift which does not supersede Douglas Jerrold's; but rather plays harpinger and companion to that. When Mr. Tindal brought up the Birmingham subsidy to the Leader of Hungary, Mr. Tindal presented to Madame Kossuth a copy of the *Sentiments and Similes of Shakespeare*, a volume illuminated by the tasteful and brilliant pencil of Noel Humphreys. The gift was prettily selected and appropriately presented.

The case of Mr. Alderman Salomons, M.P., came on in the Court of Exchequer, on Monday, before Mr. Baron Martin and a special jury. It was in the form of an action, brought against Mr. Alderman Salomons to recover certain penalties for having voted in

the House of Commons without taking the Oath of Abjuration. Under the direction of the presiding judge, Baron Martin, the counsel on either side, Sergeant Channell and Sir Fitzroy Kelly, agreed to turn the facts of the case into a special verdict. In this form the question at issue between the parties, which turns entirely upon the construction of various statutes, will be brought before the judges. In the course of next term (says the *Times*) we may expect a conclusive settlement of this intricate and troublesome question.

A public meeting of the inhabitants of Newcastle was held in the Lecture-room, on Monday evening, the 8th instant, Mr. Gunn in the chair. The following resolution was proposed by Mr. Watson, supported by Messrs. Charlton, Thomas, and Harney, and carried by acclamation:—"Resolved, That the solidarity of the peoples being a great truth, and the fraternity of the nations a great duty, the persons composing this meeting feel called upon, individually and collectively, to declare their heartfelt sympathy for all the oppressed peoples of Europe. That foremost amongst the betrayers and opposers of our brethren stands the perjured usurper Bonaparte; and inasmuch as he has treacherously and forcibly overthrown the liberties so gloriously achieved by the French people in February, 1848—having extinguished the parliamentary representation, the press, and all the other guarantees of freedom; having, to consummate his treason, let loose a bribed and brutal soldiery upon an unarmed people, whose blood he has caused to flow in torrents, he has stamped and proclaimed himself perjurer, traitor, brigand, and assassin—an enemy not only to France, but to the world; and, as such, worthy of the execration and vengeance of the human race. That in the pursuit of freedom and justice, the peoples are bound to aid each other; that the existing aristocratical Government of Great Britain is the great obstacle in the way of the people of this country performing their duty to their brethren; therefore it is the bounden duty of the unrepresented millions to forthwith struggle for, and win, democratic parliamentary reform, based upon universal and equal representation."

Rear-Admiral Houston Stewart has issued an address to the electors of Greenwich, declaring his intention of coming forward as a candidate, in the event of Admiral Dundas being sent on foreign service.

Sir John Gladstone, baronet, died on Sunday, in his eighty-seventh year, at Fasque in Scotland.

Mr. George Dunbar, Professor of Greek Literature in the University of Edinburgh, died on Saturday, at Rosepark, Trinity. He had been ill some time.

Mr. Basil Montague, Q.C., died on the 27th ultimo, at Boulogne in the eighty-second year of his age. He was the son of Lord Sandwich and Miss Margaret Reay, the subject of a tragic story. A young officer named Hackman became passionately attached to Miss Reay, he afterwards entered the Church, and begged her to marry him, but in vain. She was bound by affection to Lord Sandwich and to her children and would not desert him or them. Hackman armed with pistols then met her as she was leaving the theatre on the 7th of April, 1779, and shot her dead. He levelled the other pistol at his own head but it missed fire. He was taken, tried, and hung. Lord Sandwich acted very nobly and tried to save him. But he refused all mediation and died on the gallows at Tyburn.

We understand that Mr. B. Peacock, Q.C., is to have the appointment of Legal Member of the Supreme Council of India, rendered vacant by the death of the late Mr. Drinkwater Bethune.

The Count and Countess of Trapani are at Florence, where several balls have been given in their honour. The Countess is daughter of the Grand Duke.

The Duke de Chambord, the Duchess de Berri, and the Grand Duke Constantine of Russia, are at Venice, where they will spend the winter.

The English Minister at Vienna, Lord Westmoreland, has not yet been received by the Emperor, although his Majesty is having public receptions twice a week. This is understood to be a slight offered him to avenge the reception of Kossuth in England.

A conference for the establishment of preventive and reformatory schools, as the only means of checking the progress of juvenile crime, was held at Birmingham on Wednesday. Mr. Recorder Hill occupied the chair. In the evening a public meeting was held, at which resolutions for the above object were agreed to.

The Teviot, which arrived on Thursday, brings anticipated news from the Cape up to the 4th of November. The character of the conflict had not altered. There had been much skirmishing, and the Kafirs are said to have been repulsed. General Somerset, on the 12th of October, with a large division penetrated into the Waterkloof, drove out Macomo, and destroyed his camps. But all the frontier districts, except Albany, have been swept by the cattle-lifting Kafirs.

Some Scotch clergymen, members of the Free Scotch Church, have attempted to establish a church of their persuasion at Rome; but no success crowned their efforts.

The Austro-Italian press still publishes its quota of political sentences. These offences are unceasing, and even Austrian martial law seems unavailing to crush the subversive spirit of the anti-Austrian league. Many fresh arrests are said to have been made at Florence, Pistoja, Pescia, and Arezzo, in Tuscany.

The bishops of Sardinia have addressed a protest to the king against the construction of the new Protestant church at Turin, in which they state that the permission accorded is contrary to the Constitution. A church is being placed at the disposal of the Protestant residents of Genoa.

Smith, who was condemned to death at the last session of the Central Criminal Court for murdering his own illegitimate child, has been saved, and his sentence commuted into transportation for life.

A flour mill on the Greet, which flows into the Trent near Fiskerton, not far from Newark, was destroyed by fire

on Monday, and five men lost their lives. The men were removing the stock when the roof fell in, and floor after floor crashed down without the least warning.

A young man named Ricketts who had been drinking with Bush, the milkman found murdered near Bath, has been arrested on suspicion.

An inquest has been held on the body of the plasterer killed on the 29th ultimo, by the fall of a large portion of a pile of buildings in Gloucester-road, Kensington. It was clearly proved on the inquest, which terminated on Monday, that very bad materials had been used; that the district surveyor had warned the owner, Mr. Inderwick; and that Mr. Bean, the architect, had also been duly warned. In the face of these facts, the jury returned a special verdict:—"We find that Robert Woolen was accidentally killed by the falling of the cornice of the parapet of certain houses, the property of Mr. John Inderwick, situated in Gloucester-road, Kensington, upon the 29th of November, 1851; and we further find, that the cause of the accident was by reason of the bad materials furnished by Mr. Inderwick. We also find that Mr. Bean, the surveyor, was to blame for having permitted the works to proceed under such circumstances."

A riot of navvies took place at Grantham, on Wednesday. They were on strike for an advance of wages, and were deemed sufficiently dangerous to warrant the calling in of troops from Nottingham. The men were dispersed without resistance.

The Smithfield Club Cattle-Show has been held this week. As compared with the entries at the preceding show, the number at the present one shows a trifling diminution; the falling off, however, in numbers is more than made up by the generally improved character of the stock exhibited. Probably at no previous exhibition has there been so much deserving of real praise, or more worthy the attention of those interested in this important department of agricultural occupation of grazing, as in the present one. There is no feature more deserving of attention in the exhibition of the present year, than the specimens which illustrate the great advance which has been made in bringing young classes to an early maturity. Among oxen and steers a large preponderance of the prizes has been carried off by the Herefords; and of cows and heifers, the most successful, as a class, have been the "short horns."

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK. (From the Registrar-General's Report.)

The state of the public health, as indicated by a constant increase of mortality, is far from being favourable at the present time. During four weeks of November the deaths registered in the London districts increased in the following progression:—989, 1022, 1132, 1279; and in the week ending last Saturday they rose to 1316. During the same five weeks the deaths among old persons, of 60 years and upwards, have numbered successively 202, 207, 242, 277, and 305. It will be seen from a review of ten previous years (1841-50) that, in the week of 1847 corresponding to last week, influenza raised the deaths to 2454; but, with the exception of that year, they did not in any corresponding week exceed 1146, and were generally much less. The average of the ten weeks was 1123, and if corrected for increase of population, 1235, compared with which the deaths of last week exhibit an excess of 81. It is hardly necessary to remark that, if the unusual mortality of 1847 were excluded from the comparison, the result would be still more unfavourable for last week.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 2nd instant, at Heligan, Cornwall, the wife of the Reverend J. Townshend Boscawen: a son.

On the 4th instant, at St. Helen's, Southsea, the wife of Captain Langley, Royal Marine Artillery: a daughter.

On the 4th instant, the wife of Mr. John Crookford, publisher of the *Low Times*, and the *Critic*, London Literary Journal: a daughter.

On the 5th instant, in the Strand, Mrs. Samuel Harvey Twining: a son.

MARRIAGES.

On the 3rd instant, at Trinity Church, Marylebone, Alexander Atherton Park, Esq., to Henrietta, only daughter of the late Major Barton Powlett William Wallop.

On the 3rd instant, at Croydon, John W. M'Laren, Esq., of Philpot-lane, City, and Douro-place, Kensington, to Miss Anna E. Maberley, late of Brussels.

On the 27th instant, at St. Mary's, Cheltenham, Major Liddell, of the Twenty-seventh Regiment, Bombay Native Infantry, to Anne Moore, eldest daughter of the late Major Newport, of the Twenty-third Regiment, Bombay Native Infantry.

On the 9th instant, at St. Pancras New Church, John C. Howard, Esq., of 9, Billiter-square, to Laura, youngest daughter of George Harley, Esq., of Augustus-square, Park-village East, Regent's-park.

DEATHS.

On the 21st ultimo, at Draycot-street, Chelsea, Matthew Delaval O'Meara, late Deputy-Commissioner-General.

On the 13th ultimo, aged ninety-two years and eight months, at his residence at Canterbury, William Baskerville, Esq., late Inspector of Riding Officers, her Majesty's Cavalry.

On the 3rd instant, at his house, New Broad-street, after a long illness, Algernon Frampton, Esq., M.D., of St. John's College, Cambridge, Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and for many years physician to the London Hospital, in his forty-ninth year.

On the 3rd instant, at Oxford, suddenly, at the residence of his brother, Lieutenant A. O. Hansard, Royal Navy, second son of the late Luke Graves Hansard, Esq.

On the 4th instant, at Charlton-house, Malmesbury, the Earl of Suffolk, aged seventy-five.

On the 5th instant, in Chesham-place, the Lady Caroline King.

On the 6th instant, at Hayes-place, Lissou-grove, Rear-Admiral C. F. Daly, C.B.

On the 7th instant, at his residence, in Great Cumberland-street, Lieutenant-General Sir George Augustus Quentin, C.B., K.C.H., formerly Colonel of the Tenth Royal Hussars, Aide-de-Camp to his late Majesty George IV., and Crown Equerry to her Majesty and their late Majesties George IV. and William IV., in the ninety-second year of his age.

Postscript.

SATURDAY, December 13.

The state of the departments is the important point in French news. Besides the departments already under martial law before the *coup d'état*, which were the Ardèche, the Cher, the Nièvre, and the Rhone, the state of siege has now been proclaimed in the departments of the Seine, Basses-Alpes, Allier, Saone-et-Loire, Hérault, Gard, Var, Lot, and Lot-et-Garonne, in the city of Strasburg, and probably in many other places not as yet known to us.

The entire district situated between the rivers Yonne, Allier, and Rhone, from the town of Joigny to the neighbourhood of Lyons, and beyond the Rhone to the department of Ain, and to Poligny in the Jura, has been in a state of popular conflagration. Languedoc and Provence, the Basses Alpes, the Var, Gers, the Hérault—throughout, in fact, this vast proportion of the country, not to speak of those parts from which we have no accounts, military operations are going on with the utmost vigour, and general orders have been issued by the Minister of War to the officers commanding in all the departments that all persons resisting the Government are to be shot.

The *Moniteur* of yesterday publishes various decrees; and among them one organizing the Consultative Commission. The commission will be called on to scrutinise the votes on the ballot which is to take place on the 20th and 21st of December, and the result will be promulgated by the executive power. The other duties of the Consultative Commission will be, first, to give its advice on the projects of decrees in legislative matters, which may be submitted to it by the President of the Republic; and, secondly, to fulfil the functions of the Council of State. The commission will be presided over by the President of the Republic, and in his absence by M. Baroche, who is appointed Vice-president.

Another decree provides that the indirect imposts and revenues will continue to be raised till the 1st of April, 1852; and that the tobacco monopoly, granted to the state by the law of the 28th of April, 1816, shall be extended to the 1st of January, 1853. The same decree provides for some financial operations, and limits the Bons du Trésor in circulation to 150 million of francs.

General Harispe and General Vaillant are made Marshals of France; and General Randon appointed to the Government of Algeria.

The vote of the Navy as far as known on Thursday stood as follows:—

Number of voters	8567
For the acceptance (of the President for ten years)	6242
For the rejection	2154
Abstained from voting	171

The *Morning Chronicle* ridicules the idea of a Socialist or other conspiracy.

"Why was the *coup d'état* the sole alternative? Alternative in the teeth of what? A Socialist plot—a Royalist rising—a mountain—or a mouse—a Red Republic, or the *drapeau blanc*? The one is equally as probable as the other; and we shall believe in either when we see evidence of its existence. As it is, the alleged fears of a planned Socialist *jacquerie* have had their antecedents only in Rye-house and Meal-tub plots; for a conspiracy is the ordinary excuse for a dragonnade."

The funeral of Marshal Soult, Duke de Dalmatia, took place at St. Amand-la-Bastide, on the 6th. An immense concourse of people assembled on the occasion from the departments of the Hérault, Tarn, and Lot. The Archbishop of Albi and the Bishop of Cahors officiated, and were assisted by a large body of the clergy, occupying the whole of the choir and part of the nave of the small church where the last service was performed. The authorities of the Tarn and of the neighbouring departments were prevented from attending, in consequence of the disturbed state of the country. They sent formal excuses to the Duchess for their absence. Everything passed over with great pomp and in perfect order.

Protection exhibited itself on a grand scale yesterday. The National Association met in the morning at the London Tavern, under the presidency of the Duke of Richmond, and adopted a "declaration," in which firm adherence to the old gospel is declared. The Duke of Richmond recommended the farmers to make no mistake as to the opinions of the candidates at the next election, exclaiming—"Ask them on the hustings—and thank God we have not yet got the ballot, when a man dare not avow the sentiments of his mind." &c. He would answer for the stanchness of Lord Derby—he knew that high and chivalrous nobleman was not "a man to back round and disguise the sentiments that he felt!"

Mr. Edward Ball, of Burwell, a sentimental farmer, with strong feelings moved the adoption of the declaration. Mr. Ball, in the course of his speech, defended Mr. Disraeli, whom he pictured as "towering in the triumph of his argument," &c. The

labourers and their case formed also a topic. One would think, to read the speeches, labourers were not badly off before Corn Law Repeal!

"If the price of food and every other commodity was to be reduced to the price on the Continent, or to what Mr. Cobden called 'the world's price,' the necessary consequence must be that labour must come down to 'the world's price' also. Mr. Jacob, who had been sent by the Government to the different nations of Europe to ascertain the rate of wages, and the price at which each country could export food to England, reported that throughout Germany the labourer received 5d. per day (*Hear, hear.*) So that if the price of British corn was to be reduced to the Continental level, the wages of the labourer must necessarily sink to the same level, or 5d. per day. (*Hear, hear.*)"

His remedy for the farmer is one which cannot find favour in high places.

"But supposing that, after struggling unitedly together, they should fail, speaking as a farmer, he then believed it would be their policy to abandon their cause, to throw up their occupations, and to emigrate at once, letting those who had failed to succour them take the responsibility. (*Cheers.*) He knew the sacrifice they would have to make; but he said—'Brother farmers, emigrate as quickly as you can—in your tens and hundreds of thousands, with your wives and your little ones, go and follow the pilgrim fathers,' for such once before was the consequence of bad government."

Mr. Cayley Worsley was the Peter Grievous of the evening, whose lamentations were almost sublime. He inflamed the ardour of the meeting, and urged energy and perseverance by picturing members of Parliament in different parts of the country "who were throwing cold water on the farmers, and insulting them to their teeth." He pointed out how landlords were not in earnest, and set the fate of the farmer on success or flight from the earth! The labourers were biting the dust—and out of employment, as if that was unusual at this time of year! Lord Stanhope praised the producers and denounced the great landlords, who, with "detestable selfishness," had not attended public meetings, and had been silent spectators of their country's ruin. Mr. Ball had pointed out how Financial Reform had been recruited by deserters from the National Association. Lord Stanhope went a great deal further. The following new Conservatism was loudly applauded.

"What! bow to the decision of the next or any other House of Commons, in which the great majority of the working classes were not represented? Were they to bow to a House of Commons, the great majority of whose members had been elected by the foulest bribery and corruption? Were they to bow to a House of Commons consisting of similar persons to the present, the majority of whom did not deserve to enjoy the respect and confidence of the country? Were they to bow to a House of Commons elected by ten pounders, who must outnumber all the county votes, even if they were unanimous? And what should he say of the House of Lords, which was not a fluctuating body? Should they bow to the decision of that degenerate assembly, when the noble duke in the chair had stated once, in his presence, that he had looked in vain among the majority who voted for the repeal of the Corn-laws for twelve honest men?"

He also made this peculiar statement which is not at all improbable.

"It was his firm conviction that the cause of protection would ultimately triumph, although it might not be till ruin had overspread the land, and been succeeded by a social revolution, which he foresaw was now at the very threshold of our doors. The attachment of the people to the ancient institutions of the country was shaken, and in many counties, amongst the farmers, republican doctrines were now prevalent."

Winding up proceedings, the Duke of Richmond commented on the above, and by identifying rudeness and republicanism showed clearly his enlightened estimate of the latter.

"Lord Stanhope had said that a republican feeling was gaining ground among the farmers in some parts of the country. He (the Chairman) could only say that there was not a hustings in England where he could not take the chair and be respectfully treated, and then they could judge, if they would so receive a peer, whether there could be much mischief in the republicanism which was spoken of. (*Cheers.*)"

The influx of provincial Protectionists was so great that the dinner to that shining light, Mr. G. F. Young, M.P., had to be split into two parts, over one of which Mr. Ellman presided, and the redoubtable Mr. Paul Fosskett over the other. The speeches delivered were of the common staple.

Mr. Fosskett caught a glimpse of the truth when he said that "the great principle of Protection was the only just one, and that the principle of free trade, or competition, was calculated to pull down rather than build up national greatness. (*Hear, hear.*) The foundation of national strength and greatness was co-operation, a principle diametrically opposed to competition."

Yesterday's proceedings betray the profound agitation in the agricultural mind on social questions; and teach us that protection in the Richmond sense is very different from the protection demanded by the tenant farmers.

The Leader.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1851.

Public Affairs.

There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress.—DR. ARNOLD.

POSITION OF AFFAIRS IN FRANCE.

NOT much is to be said respecting the progress of Louis Napoleon's usurpation at Paris, unless we were to repeat the diatribes, admirable in their force, with which the English leading journal is redeeming its position in public opinion. But it may be useful to mark one or two broad results thus far ascertained.

Louis Napoleon has for the moment established himself. As an act of criminal conspiracy, his robbery of power has been well prepared, well timed, and well executed. He had been sedulous in securing the confidence of the army: its officers have been flattered by persevering attentions and ingenious compliments; its men have been won by the closest attention to their personal comfort; and, in the mean while, active training has been kept up with a perseverance and vigour unknown to our parade grounds. The soldier of France has been put into training like an English racehorse, or rather like an English prizefighter or a Roman gladiator; and he has executed his work with a chill, a cruel thoroughness, a cool devotion to it, unequalled in modern times by any but Austrian or Russian forces. Those forces have been similarly trained, similarly divided from the people, similarly used. The time was well chosen: France was divided by factions, which were all discredited by their own wavering and unpatriotic acts. The majority of the Assembly had betrayed the universal suffrage which created it; and had then fallen to quarrelling with itself. Louis Napoleon slips in between the wearied combatants, like the Wolf between the Lion and the Tiger, and seizes the prize for which the less ignoble beasts were contending, France. Only one party had not been untrue to its principles—the Socialist. But we now understand the systematic perseverance of "false reports in *Galignani's Messenger*, about "Socialist amusements," representing every mob folly and cruelty as originating with "the Socialists," though, in most cases, the text showed that the subject had nothing to do with the party or the doctrines of Socialism. It now turns out that, while other Paris journals are suppressed and correspondents of English papers are threatened, *Galignani's Messenger* reports as the usurping Government wills. The Socialist party was made the object of calumnious rumours, that it contemplated a rising on the Sunday; we know, within our own knowledge, that the assertion is wholly untrue; the *Times* and other English journals publish proofs that the conspiracy was a mere figment. But it was desired to damage the repute of the only consistent party in France—of the only "party of order," which teaches organization of its people, and toleration even of enemies. The stroke of military power was professedly directed against the Socialist party, which was not in the field; but the opportunity has been taken to imprison and slaughter its members wherever they could be caught. Neither the middle class, nor the working class as a body, took part in the resistance. They are watching events. The false reports to draw them out, the hired actors of barricade-fighting intended as decoys, were but partially successful. For the moment, at a cost of one officer and fifteen men in his own army, and of 2700 of his fellow-creatures among the citizens, most of them were spectators, or passengers in the streets, Louis Napoleon has obtained military possession of the capital and of the Government.

He holds it solely by military power, during the suppression of every civil institution or influence.

What is thought of it? The answer is melancholy. In France the bourgeoisie is divided. It still clings to hopes of "quiet," that trade may go on. But the usurper's soldiery have cut deep into the flesh and blood of many a family: in tears and terror the sabre and the bullet have sown a blood-red seed of hatred, which will not be long if

springing up. The masked quiescence of the National Guard is not "tranquillity"—we know that the feeling of the Parisians is not at all favourable to Louis Napoleon personally, although numbers are willing to see "order" kept. The bold and haughty refusals to accept any connection with his Government, show the feeling of the Notables of all parties and circles. The working classes are willing enough to witness war between President and faction; but they are true to the Republic—and they, too, have been deeply scarred by the indiscriminate slaughter. In England there are those who rejoice at the triumph of "order," at the betrayal of the republic; our wealthier classes contribute largely to that number. But the *Times* represents the more general feeling; although the moneyed world is counselling silence, forbearance, and indulgence for the outlaw, lest England be "dragged into a war"! The working classes generally, sympathize with the oppressed people, and do not fear war. On the whole, the balance of feeling is decidedly against the usurper.

And he cannot maintain his position without measures that must exasperate such feeling.

The fact remains, that for the moment he has possession of France through its capital. He has established an outpost of that great combined force which Austria and Russia command. France is reduced to the level of Italy and Hungary, under the proconsul of the two Emperors. As in all the states under Austria and Russia, in Italy, Hungary, and Germany, the soldiery and police are employed in a general razzia, not upon the Democratic party alone, but upon Constitutionalists, Legitimists, Imperialists even—upon all who are not willing to be servile subjects of Absolute power. The evident intention is to root out freedom and freemen. Take a map of Europe, wherever that sanguinary despotism extends colour it with a blood-red tint, and see how large a part of Europe it takes in: continually spreading, it now includes France.

A FREE CHURCH!

SUFFERING for the sins of the last century, afflicted for having forgotten that it ought to be a Church for the People as well as being a Church for the Aristocracy and the Crown, corrupted by unthinking submission to the State, and shameless Erastianism of the blackest dye, convicted of self-seeking, convicted of simony, abject and subject to the powers that be, the Church wakes up from long tarrying among the sons of Mammon, and at length cries aloud for freedom. From a Becket she has lapsed through Cranmers, Burnetts, and Hoadleys, down to the Sumners of our day; until, to the young earnest minds who have taken up her cause and calling—threatened by Rome on the one hand and Germany on the other—and, above all, thoroughly ashamed of the quietism and selfishness of State-churchmen—life in the Church without action is no longer possible for them. And so they ~~are~~ and cry: Let us have freedom for the Church; let us be honest; let us subject the temporal to the spiritual; let us render to Caesar the things which be Caesar's, but unto God the things which be God's, and take the consequences.

There is a bravery and a chivalry in this which we cannot too warmly welcome. However much we may disagree with the ulterior aims of this English Free Church party, led by the Archdeacon of Taunton, and represented by the London Union on Church Matters, there is a truthfulness, a righteousness, and a nobleness in this demand which commands our deepest respect, and shall have our heartiest support. The mission of the Church of England may be at an end, and no more good for us as a people may come out of it; but the mission, the duty of truthfulness is never at an end, and is as incumbent now upon the Church of England as upon the rest mankind.

It is in this spirit we look upon the movement represented by the clerical persons assembled in St. Martin's-hall on Tuesday; and it is in this spirit that we welcome the report there adopted, an abstract of which we print elsewhere.

That report is an event in Church History. Clear, definite, honest, without evasion of any kind, a logical development of the fundamental position of the party—freedom for the Church—that report is a starting point whence the Free Church party may safely advance towards the realization of their aims. It is more than this: it lays down maxims new in the history of any Church party. It not only declares a want of confidence in political parties, but it recommends abstinence from political interference, for it pro

claims "The cause of God demands all our energies, and refuses to be helped by any action that is mean or wrong." It frankly admits that "former," we might say present, "anomalies" arose from the over-willingness of Churchmen to trust "the Bishops and the principal laity of the Church, who, under the Sovereign, without the admixture of members of any other religion," formed the Parliament of England. Now, that the admixture exists, obviously Parliament is no longer the fit governor for the Church. It denies that "Bishops or other legislators" have any right to speak in Parliament for the Church, not being specially appointed thereto as the Church's delegates. It proposes to be guided by "the principle of popular representation, which is the basis of all our liberties;" it demands an act of Parliament legalizing the meeting of Convocation and diocesan Synods, so that the Church may rule herself; and it frankly concedes to Parliament that its concurrence shall be necessary to the validity of the decrees and acts of the synods. While it not only courageously declines to go to Parliament and ask for remedies for special grievances, but it condemns the Bishops for so doing!

For our parts that is the point where our advocacy rests. We demand "fair play" for the Church—for all Churches. We beg of the London Union to adhere firmly to its strong position: no parliamentary peddling—give us freedom: no spiritual diplomacy in the House of Lords—give us free legislation in the House of Convocation: no State Churchmen—but Christ's Churchmen.

THE AUSTRO-RUSSIAN CONSPIRACY.

LORD John Russell declared in the summer that there was a great conspiracy on foot against the liberties of Europe. The recent seizure of Paris by the President has given peculiar significance to this declaration.

Not one single German journal dares to publish aught that is not authorised by the Government: hence the opinions of the journals of Germany are obviously the opinions of the German Governments.

On the night of the 2nd of December a telegraphic despatch informed the Government of Vienna of the event in Paris that morning; and on the 3rd *Der Lloyd*, chief governmental organ, contained the despatch and an article applauding M. Bonaparte. The next day the official journals concurred.

The Ministerial *Oesterreichische Correspondenz* of the 3rd declared M. Bonaparte might "rely, not only on the gratitude of all friends of order in France, but also in all other countries of the continent of Europe." The *Wiener Zeitung*, too, has in its official part an article eulogizing M. Bonaparte, and expressing a wish for the success of his measures. In Berlin a cabinet council was instantly held, and, according to the *Constitutionnel*, despatches were sent to the Prussian Minister in Paris, instructing him to express the earnest wishes of the Prussian Government for the success of M. Bonaparte.

The *Post*, organ of Lord Palmerston, M. Bonaparte, and the Emperor of Russia, says, "The press is completely submitted to the censorship. All journals are obliged to send their proofs for revision to the Minister, who has whatever he thinks not fit for the public eye struck out." Writing on the 4th, the Paris correspondent of the *Post* naively tells us that he went to the office of the Minister of the Interior, found him not at home, and was not sorry—why? Because "the Minister would not have let me send anything alarming."

The English journals, avowedly or impliedly connected with the Foreign-office, have applauded the coup d'état. There is a wonderful unanimity between the English journals supporting the Bonapartist coup d'état, and the Paris authorities in ascribing the resistance in Paris to the "Red" party. "Does any one suppose that the lesson read in the quarters St. Antoine and St. Marceau," writes the *Post*, "has been lost on the dark corners in Germany and elsewhere, where rapine and murder were waiting for the prey that 1852 was to bring them?" The Minister of the Interior informed the prefects that a "Red" insurrection was fixed for Sunday week last, he knowing the same to be false. The men of the "bad quarters" did not fight. The massacres of December the 4th swept away the bourgeoisie. The workmen had "nothing to fight about."

When Lord Palmerston wanted a Consul-General at St. Petersburg, whom did he choose? The

manager of the *Morning Post*, then the zealous organ of the Emperor for Russia, and since the joint organ for Russia, Lord Palmerston, and M. Bonaparte.

In the Dublin trial, the editor of the *World* stated in his evidence, that he had written articles for Lord Palmerston on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Honan, junior, the son of the Italian correspondent of the *Times*, was, no long while ago, appointed attaché of the Neapolitan Legation at Paris.

Mr. Bird, a Vienna correspondent of the *Times*, is the officious servitor of Metternich.

The correspondent of the *Daily News* at Vienna, was within a few days expelled from Vienna, expelled from Dresden, expelled from Berlin.

Only last Sunday the *Moniteur* contained a semi-official notice stating that the correspondents of the *Globe* and the *Morning Chronicle* had been expelled Paris, for publishing news not derived from the prefect of Police. The correspondent of the *Chronicle* was not expelled, but the editor of the *Chronicle* has no doubt a design of that nature was contemplated.

The Paris correspondent of an English Bonapartist morning paper has quitted his post, because his letters were garbled by the editor in a manner which exceeded even the endurance of an "own correspondent."

Racidula, alias the Baroness von Beck, was arrested at Birmingham. To prove the charge against her, that of being no Baroness but a spy, a letter was read from a Mr. Charles de Soden, interpreter in the English police force, stating, in the most circumstantial terms, that the said Racidula, an Hungarian spy, was in the weekly receipt of a large sum for services rendered as a political agent in the Foreign branch of the English Police, appointed at the request of Austria and other powers. That statement has not been contradicted; and we can, from our own personal knowledge, affirm that even English tradesmen have been solicited to do the dirty work of the police with respect to the foreign exiles.

Louis Napoleon's soldiers are to receive pay for the Paris campaign as if they were in the field. On the receipt of the news from Paris the Emperor of Austria caused the alarm to be beaten and the whole garrison to be called out: and for their alacrity an order was published, permitting each man to enjoy double pay for three days.

At the Lord Mayor's dinner neither Lord Palmerston nor any of the Foreign Ambassadors attended. The Corporation had received Louis Kossuth!

A great entertainment was given at the Elysée on Monday by the Prince President, Consul Elect—the Feast of Blood; largely attended by the Diplomats: Lord Normanby was there.

Austria has been busy in supporting the Pope, and in restoring priestly domination as an instrument of lay oppression.

The jacquerie in the Cher, which has extended to other departments, began by the peasants attacking the priests. M. Bonaparte has restored the Pantheon to the purposes originally designed by "the pious founder," Louis XV. For this act the President receives applause from the *Univers*—the high Papal organ and defender of the King of Naples: hence he is the self-constituted head of the priestly party. The British Government permitted the French occupation of Rome and the restoration of the Pope in 1849.

And now we ask Lord John Russell whether Pius IX. is the head tool of "the conspiracy," or only a subordinate tool of the Northern Courts, backed by Somebody Else, not a hundred miles from Downing-street? For a conspiracy there is.

THE BREVET INJUSTICE.

MILITARY men naturally feel aggrieved at the peculiar limitation of the late brevet. In the last *Gazette* promotion, the year 1841 was divided into two parts, and thereby thirty-one Colonels were excluded. Who were these excluded officers? Commencing with Colonel Chamberlaine,

Ten	had served from 50 to 55 years.
Ten	40 " 50 "
Eleven	32 " 40 "

Nor were these soldiers personally undistinguished. In the aggregate, they had received sixty-seven Peninsula medals and clasps, and eight Waterloo medals. They had served their country in every clime, and had upheld the honour of the flag in many a hard-fought fight. The injury, however,

is even worse than it looks; from the very force of time, it is not probable that all of them will survive for the next promotion; and thus they will live out the remainder of their days in undeserved exclusion.

It would be curious to note, not only whom that peculiar division of a year excluded, but whom it included within the blessing of promotion. Does it take in some officer of high connection whom a date six months earlier would have shut out?

One reason why the soldier sustains these injuries is the unnatural division between his craft and the body of the community. This segregation is incident to the nature of our army, and indeed to the modern form of military organization introduced by the "Standing Army" system. The soldier is taught to stand aloof from the civilian and to despise him. The civilian is taught to hate war, its profession, and its cost. Mutual grudges are kept up by political and social severance. The army ceases to be national in feeling; the nation ceases to share in the interests and sentiments of the army. A more unnatural divorce of a country and its defenders could not be; it weakens the sympathy which would check the power of a mere bureau to make the Army an instrument of political oppression; it punishes the working soldier with the deprivation of popular support against official injustice.

PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS.

THE idea which most people form of what is called the "Executive Government," is that it consists of some fourteen or fifteen well-paid, well-informed, and well-conducted gentlemen—the *élite* of the aristocracy—selected by the Crown from all the rest of the world; and who assemble from time to time in the world-renowned DOWNING-STREET, and there put in motion that cunningly devised machinery by which the state instrument is kept in motion, and JOHN BULL in good condition and good temper.

There is a remnant of superstition occasionally to be met with in the more benighted regions of society, touching the guarantees which the constitution has provided for the uniformly proper conduct of these potent personages; or what has been called by those who hold the superstition—"Ministerial responsibility." This weakness, however, is not very prevalent. It is generally known to be one of the fictions which "the wisdom of our ancestors" devised, for the purpose of reconciling the gullible public to a practice which, but for their belief in a theory, would have been likely to encounter a serious opposition. The truth is, that what is termed the "Executive Government," is so cut up and divided, and its several parts are so divaricated and distributed, that it is difficult, if not impossible, to know how or where to get at it. It has more eyes than Argus; more heads and hands than Briaræus; and these are often occupying themselves in a very objectionable way, and through various agencies, with the affairs of her Majesty's lieges, while they are themselves wholly out of sight.

That the subordinate instruments by which the Ministers of State carry on the drudgery and detail of national affairs, should be constituted into a number of separate delegations, or establishments, each one having the management and conducting of a specific branch of public business, acting, ordinarily, in independence of the rest, is probably indispensable to the working of the state machine; but there can be no good reason for shutting up these eccentric bureaux from public view, and concealing from the world the names and rewards of the persons of whom they are composed. On the contrary, there is every reason for the opposite practice. Anything like a secret inquisition is not only, in idea, very repulsive to English feeling, but it is, moreover, sure to operate mischievously. Its members are removed from that influence which, of all others in the public affairs of this country, operates wholesomely—public opinion; and hence we find the "Boards," as the subordinate branches of the Government are called, too often exercising their powers in a most unpleasant and oppressive manner. The "Board of Customs," for example, has acquired a most execrable reputation, in this way; and the "Board of Inland Revenue" is not far removed from it in obliquity. These Boards take upon themselves, not only to administer, but to interpret the law; and if this will not suffice for their purpose, they do not stand nice about making law to suit the occasion or exigency. To complain of any act of injustice or oppression done by them is useless. The only appeal lies to their own body!

They take a complaint of grievance into consideration, or not, just as they please; and even when that is done, the parties heard or examined are not the complainants who have sustained the injury, but the agents of the Board, who have indicted it! It is in vain to appeal to the "responsible" minister against the injurious action of the subordinates. If you "memorialize" the Treasury against an injustice done by the Board of Customs, or that of Inland Revenue, for instance, be the injustice ever so glaring, or the inquiry ever so grave, the "memorial" is handed over to the delinquent Board, which is invited to sit in judgment upon itself and report the result of its inquest to "My Lords," who have no time to look into these affairs of individual concernment.

Can the bureaucracy be placed under any check or restraint? or must the only satisfaction which an injured subject of the Crown can get continue to be, as now, the amount of public sympathy he may excite by an exposition of his hard case through the columns of a newspaper?

There is only one way that we know of likely to be useful for this purpose, that is, by drawing aside the veil of secrecy and exposing these governmental departments to public view. We do not think it likely, if the composition and *personnel* of the several "Boards" were well known—if the apparent motives which influenced the appointments to them were subjected to a public ordeal—if the individual relationships and interests of the several persons composing them were inquired into and brought under public notice—that either their composition or conduct would be so liable to strong reprehension as they often are now.

Sir Robert Peel, when under examination before the Committee of 1850, on official salaries, very ingenuously, though jocosely, suggested the corrective course now adverted to:—"You have stated the power which the Minister had in former times," observed Mr. Bright, "of bestowing appointments on his relatives and connections; is it not the fact also now, that the Minister has the power, and does still exercise it, of doing that which is advantageous to his family and relatives, by the distribution of appointments among them?" "That certainly is one of the advantages of office, and one that remains undiminished," replied the right honourable baronet; "I think," he added, "there is more care in making appointments than there was in former times; but still the power remains undiminished." Now, note the next question and answer. "It is more controlled by public opinion, and the influence of the press, and of more responsibility in Parliament?" "Yes," replied Sir Robert Peel, "and the conscience of the Minister"—whereat there was, of course, a laugh.

What has been effected in a limited degree, through the force of public opinion, the influence of the press, and the responsibility of the Ministers in Parliament, in controlling the exercise of Government patronage, and the appointment to office, may be effected, in a still larger degree, by strengthening public opinion, extending the influence of the press, and increasing the Parliamentary responsibility through the means of constant publicity. That will check or influence the appointments to the Governmental Boards; and the proceedings of the Boards may be checked or influenced by the same thing. Believing this, we have charged ourselves with the duty of seeking the information necessary to insure these objects. We purpose to exhibit to the readers of the *Leader*, the personal and structural functions of the public departments through which the administration of the nation's affairs is carried on.

In the mean time, the following exhibition of the several parts of the Executive Government may not be useless. It will, at all events, serve to guide us through the labyrinthine mazes of Downing-street, and its adjuncts and dependencies:—

I.—THE PRIVY COUNCIL:—

1. The Cabinet.
2. Judicial Committee.
3. Committee of Trade and Plantations.
4. Educational Committee.

II.—THE TREASURY:—

1. The Exchequer.
2. Exchequer Bill Loan Office.
3. The Commissariat.
4. Audit Office.
5. National Debt Office.
6. State Paper and Record Office.

III.—THE HOME OFFICE:—

1. Legal Department.
2. Magisterial and Police Departments.
3. Criminal and Convict Departments.
4. Alien Department.

5. Inspectorial Department.

6. Signet Office, &c. &c.

IV.—THE FOREIGN OFFICE:—

1. Consular Department.
2. Slave Trade Department.
3. Précis Writer, Librarian of Manuscripts, &c.

V.—COLONIAL OFFICE:—

1. Administrative Department.
2. War Department.
3. Colonial Land and Emigration Board.

VI.—THE IRISH OFFICE.

VII.—THE PRIVY SEAL:—

The Signet Office.

VIII.—THE ADMIRALTY:—

1. Naval Department.
2. Civil Department.
3. Judicial Department.
4. General Register and Record Department.
5. Scientific Department.
6. Hydrographical Department—Naval Yards—Victualling Stores—Medical Establishments—Transport ditto, &c.

IX.—WAR AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF'S OFFICES:—

1. War Office.
2. Commander-in-Chief's Office.
3. Quarter-Master-General's Office.
4. Paymaster-General's Office.
5. Adjutant-General's Office.
6. Comptroller of Accounts' Office.
7. Medical Board.
8. Judge-Advocate-General's Office.

Military Asylum—Hibernian Military School—Royal Military College—Normal and Model School, &c.

X.—BOARD OF ORDNANCE:—

1. Master-General's Office.
2. Cash-Account Office.
3. Store-Account Office.
4. Secretary's Office.
5. Inspector-General of Fortifications' Office.
6. Survey Department.

Royal Military Academy—Engineer Department at Chatham—Royal Military Repository, Woolwich—Ordnance Establishments—Barracks, &c.

XI.—BOARD OF CONTROL:—

1. Revenue Department.
2. Finance Department.
3. Military Department.
4. Marine, Ecclesiastical, &c. Department.
5. Political Department.
6. Judicial and Legislative Department.

XII.—THE POST OFFICE:—

1. Offices of Control—
Post-Master-General's—Secretary's to ditto—General Secretary's—Accountant and Receiver-General's—Solicitor's.
2. Executive Offices—
Ship-Letter Office—Mail-Coach ditto—Inland and Foreign ditto—Letter Carriers' ditto—London District and Newspaper ditto.
3. Offices of Public Convenience—
Dead Letter Office—Inquiry ditto—Money-Order ditto.

XIII.—BOARD OF PUBLIC WORKS.

XIV.—BOARD OF WOODS, FORESTS, AND LAND REVENUE.

XV.—BOARD OF INLAND REVENUE:—

1. Excise Department.
2. Stamps and Taxes Department.
3. Legacy Duty Office.
4. Solicitor's Office.
5. Receiver-General's Office.
6. Accountant and Comptroller General's Office.

XVI.—BOARD OF CUSTOMS:—

1. Civil Department.
2. Harbour Vessels and Cruising Department.
3. Preventive Guard Department.
4. Quarantine Department.
5. Surveyor's Department.
6. Comptroller-General's Department.
7. Solicitors' Department.
8. Building, Victualling, &c., Department.
9. Receiver-General's Department, &c. &c. &c.

XVII.—THE MINT:—

1. Master Worker's Office.
2. Deputy Master's ditto.
3. Comptroller's Office, &c. &c. &c.

XVIII.—POOR LAW COMMISSION.

XIX.—BOARD OF HEALTH.

XX.—COMMISSION OF SEWERS.

XXI.—TITHES, TITHE, AND INCLOSURE COMMISSION.

XXII.—GENERAL REGISTRAR'S OFFICE.

XXIII.—STATIONERY OFFICE.

XXIV.—PAYMASTER-GENERAL'S OFFICE.

Metropolitan Buildings' Office—Metropolitan

Roads' Office—Ecclesiastical Commission—Police Commission—British Museum Commission—National Gallery Commission—Museum of Practical Geology Commission—Greenwich Hospital Commission—Chelsea Hospital Commission, &c.

1815 IMPROVED.

LOUIS BLANC says that there will be three empires—the Austrian, the Russian, and the French; but will not that position leave certain little irregularities unpleasant to the eye of the political geographer? Let us suggest a plan for removing them.

Louis Napoleon has an army to feed and amuse; wanted, therefore, a war. Let him pick a quarrel with Turkey—about Tunis, Morocco, or the Exposition prize, it matters not what—and having conquered Turkey, let him hand it over, with Greece of course, to Russia. Austria can then take Sardinia and German Switzerland; leaving the rest for Louis Napoleon; giving the Rhine provinces also to French desires, with Belgium. Prussia can be paid with Schleswig-Holstein; Denmark with Norway and Sweden, Liberal kingdoms. Eventually, Spain and Portugal can be annexed to the French empire; Holland and the Danish dominions handed over to the new "Emperor" of Prussia. When Russia has taken India, France can annex Ireland, absorbing England in the process; unless, indeed, Queen Victoria, permitted to join the quintuple alliance for the sake of Palmerston, should be suffered to stand as a new "Empress," and permitted to annex the United States of America. This would make geography much more square and simple.

"SOCIETY IS SAVED!"

To "save society" is an universal pretention. Among the various schemes which find admirers, what do you think of this?

A low scoundrel, deeply in debt, and at his wit's end, proposes to some kindred spirits a bold yet easy burglary. The inmates of the house are startled from their sleep, and commanded to give up the keys. Those who hesitate are gagged, those who protest are murdered! The drawers are ransacked—the property secured. Then, when murder and violence have silenced the cries of the proprietors, the brutal ruffian, moving amidst corpses, his feet slipping in their blood, announces to them this bulletin:—"Brothers and sisters! Your property is saved! I thank you for the confidence you have reposed in me! Continue your peaceful attitude, and be assured I will not suffer Socialists to pillage your house!"

POLITICAL LETTERS.

II. FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

December 10, 1851.

WHAT can Englishmen do in this matter of France to vindicate the outraged rights of humanity and their own honour? I do not know, my trusted companion, what Englishmen *can* do, because I am oppressed with doubts as to the amount of spirit and will remaining to my countrymen; but I know what they ought to do. They ought to see that their Government truly represents them, and acts as England would act, not as Downing-street has acted. But in order to do that, Englishmen should first know what their Government is doing.

Now, what is that Government doing? Not a man of us knows. There was a rumour, on Tuesday last week, that Lord Palmerston was "to go out," because the Grey section of the Cabinet could not tolerate him; he is *not* out. Has he become more tolerable to the Grey section? There is a rumour, this week, that Lord Palmerston has expressed satisfaction at the success of Louis Napoleon: is that true? and has a concurrence in that approval reconciled the Grey section to their dangerous colleague?

These are rumours, you may say, and as such not worth note. But they are rumours current among well-informed men; and I believe that political action suffers from the fact that such rumours are allowed to float about, not explicitly stated nor explicitly contradicted.

One word on our right to infer grave charges against a public Minister without incontestable "proof." There is a squeamishness growing up in the English character, very different from the old love of straightforward fair dealing. Your Englishman, nowadays, must be "perfectly accurate" in his statements, as impeccable as an old maid, or his silken conscience yields under the load of hysteric possibility of an imputation of having been "in error." He ignores what does not come before him officially. Now perfect accuracy is impossible; judicial blindness is the most paralyzing of infirmities; and the Englishman is losing the faculties both of eyes and hands. Hamlet has



become his model, as Rosencratz and Guildenstern are the models of the party which governs the Englishman.

I am called to account for being "personal" in my attacks on Palmerston. I am so; and I believe it to be one of the most miserable follies of our time to fancy that we can, or ought, to shun personality. Base, backbiting personality is hateful; but personal considerations are essential in all political questions. We are governed by persons. How much of this degrading outrage upon France is due to Louis Napoleon's personal character? I admire many of Palmerston's qualities and his wonderful abilities; but, whatever his motives and intentions may be, assuming they are sincere and elevated, I believe from my soul, that his conduct of affairs is such as to defeat every liberal movement which is cursed by the offer of the "English" alliance, such as to encourage, promote, and fortify the Austrian system, which is gradually, but not slowly, bringing the whole of Europe within its grasp. Without intending to imply any accusation beyond the plain meaning of the words, assuming his motives and intentions to be as I have said, I do believe that his conduct is as effectual in promoting the ends of despotism, defeating the political influence of the English nation, and crushing the freedom-loving Peoples of Europe as if he were a thorough traitor.

If I am told that I yield too much to conjecture, I reply that, when men are secret, we have a right to piece out observation with conjecture. If a tiger is moving beneath the grass, I have a right to shoot where the grass is moving. The answer to conjectural charges is, to be open.

This question is becoming most vital to England, to its freedom, its existence. Note the signs on the surface in the paper printed before this letter: does it not seem—and those signs are not all, nor a hundredth part of what a longer search might collect—does it not seem that Austria and Russia have now extended their armed alliance down to the very shores of the Atlantic, their tool being in military possession of France? I believe that it is so. Louis Napoleon is enforcing the very system of Austria—holding down the people by main force, forbidding them to meet, putting down the press, restoring the clergy—those agents of Rome—of Rome, where Lord Palmerston permitted the French to restore the Pope. The Austro-Russian alliance is now next door to us; and should any "disturbance" warrant Louis Napoleon in claiming support, "the Cossack" will be within a few hours' voyage of the Thames,—in whose waters Kossuth warns us that the Cossack horse will drink.

But what has been the peculiar character of this last razzia on a free people? It had the manifest purpose of driving out and exterminating all opponents of arbitrary power. The same process has been going on in Hungary, Germany, and Italy, that is now enforced in France: the people are divided and held down by military force, with the aid of espionage, or as De Maupas expresses it, a rigorous system of search and arrest. In the conquest of Paris an immense stride has been made in the march of Despotism.

Towards England.

Let the English people steadily face the facts. Our Government has professedly upheld "constitutional monarchy"—a failure everywhere under that patronage. Her Majesty is "at peace" with all those powers that are rooting out constitutionalism in every part of the Continent. Sardinia, as yet untried, is a poor substitute for Hungary, which sank under Russian intervention and Lord Palmerston's "protest." The battle between Cossack-Croat Absolutism and Republicanism has come; the intermediate barrier of constitutionalism breaking at every turn. And Absolutism, in material progress, is gaining ground.

Has the responsible Minister of England summoned his country to resist? No, he permits the march of Despotism to gain the very shores of "the British Channel," and resists not—is said, indeed, to express "satisfaction"!

And our countrymen do not take the matter into their own hands—do not call the Minister to account!

In what state does this approaching power of Despotism find us? Does it, as Kossuth said, find us prepared to say "Stop," with the intention of making good our word? Quite the reverse. The object of shortsighted rulers has been to make the People docile, and now they are so to a degree which may cause uneasiness. In the United States the whole population is habituated to act in an or-

ganized form. Instead of being merely "free" to possess arms, but not to carry or practise them, in some States every man who does not possess arms is subject to a fine. The habit of using arms is universal. On a fine moonlight night you may see the citizens drilling by hundreds and thousands in the public squares, parks, and open places. With us, if a working man were seen in the street carrying a gun, the Policeman would probably inquire the history of the weapon; and the slightest attempt at drilling would be instantly put down. In the Union, the Companies of Firemen are Companies of picked and armed men; and, indeed, most of the citizens prefer serving in Volunteer Companies to serving in the Militia. The people, therefore, is armed, not only against the invader from without, but against the traitor within. It is in this vigour and trained condition of the People that the liberties of the Union reside, far more than in its Republican institutions. Institutions are trivialities in comparison with the condition and spirit of the People.

In all these matters we English people are in a condition the reverse of the Americans. Our aristocracy stands aloof, neither trusting nor leading the people. Professing "to row in the same boat," it keeps the people disfranchised. The Government, which is picked out of the aristocracy, multiplies precautions, professedly for the maintenance of "order," really with the effect of undermining the liberty and vigour of the people. By "people" I mean not any exclusive class, but the whole number of the population. Trading habits of thought have conspired to the same end; and now we see ourselves, with a common enemy approaching our shores, but with a people whose spirit in the two most numerous classes of society is broken by fear of trading loss, or by toil and the habit of submission. Were it not otherwise the nation would no longer tolerate that its name should be used to maintain that system which is odious to every English feeling and opinion.

That English spirit is totally extinguished I have never believed. Kossuth proved that it was still latent in our people. His appeal proved also that the several classes can unite in a national movement. If we had amongst us some popular speaker, as well able as Kossuth to represent the facts as they exist, there could be little difficulty in arousing the nation to a sense of its position. How strong our Government might be, if taking its ground openly and avowedly on the side of liberty, it were to rally around it the populations of Hungary, Italy, and Germany! A large contingent from Spain would soon join the European movement. Our colonies would be delighted to back a Government for once supporting the interest of Peoples. The bulk of the French people could not long remain apart from such an alliance. That America would take her side with us we know already. In this great alliance there would be freedom and safety. The impediment to it is the secret system in our public offices. We do not know what our Government is doing; we only know that, after it has interfered, the progress of Despotism is more marked than before; and the progress of Despotism, I say, has now become most evidently the progress of the Cossack and Croat towards our own shores.

What, then, might the English people do? It might come forth everywhere, to declare its sympathy with the People of every country that is struggling for freedom, to demand that our Government should support those nations, and to claim a fair and open statement from the responsible Ministers on our actual relations with foreign countries. But will the English People do so? Neither you nor I can answer. Time may; but I distrust the will of my countrymen. It is weakened.

THORNTON HUNT.

SOCIAL REFORM.

"NOTES OF A SOCIAL ECONOMIST."

THE COÖPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS OF ENGLAND XL.

"Each mental faculty is by its natural constitution related to a different class of objects, and is prone to start into activity when these objects are presented; and we can no more cultivate the emotions of justice or of pity than we can the sense of hearing or seeing by a mere intellectual exposition of its propriety."—COOMBE, on the Management of Infancy.

In a former article I gave an account of Robert Owen's successful experiment at New Lanark. I have since obtained a formal Report on the subject, signed by Edward Baines, M.P., of the *Leeds Mercury*, a Dissenter; John Cawood, a

member of the Established Church; and Richard Oastler, a Wesleyan; gentlemen, in whose practical knowledge and integrity the town of Leeds evidently had confidence, who were sent officially to New Lanark, in 1819, by the parochial authorities—then, as now,* at a loss to know how best to support their poor and unemployed ("who determine the rate of wages"). After remaining some days at New Lanark, and examining minutely every department of the establishment, these gentlemen drew up a Report, which was published in the *Leeds Mercury*, and from which I have made the following copious extracts. The Report is dated September 14, 1819, three years after the opening of the New Lanark institution for the formation of character from early infancy.

"REPORT.

"Mr. Owen's establishment at New Lanark, is essentially a manufacturing one, conducted in a manner superior to any other the deputation ever witnessed, dispensing more happiness than perhaps any other institution in the kingdom where so many poor persons are employed, and is founded on an admirable system of moral regulation. The population of the village of New Lanark, the whole of which is attached to Mr. Owen's establishment, consists of 2293 individuals, exclusive of 188 persons employed in the mill from Old Lanark: of this number there are 103 under the age of two, and 380 between the age of two and ten years: these latter are receiving daily instructions in the schools, and by showing them a spirit of kindness, and impressing them with a sense of their duty (without the hope of reward or the fear of punishment), they are making satisfactory progress in reading, writing, and accounts, as well as in music and dancing; in addition to which the girls are taught to sew. In the education of the children, the thing that is most remarkable is the spirit of kindness and affection shown towards them, and the entire absence of everything likely to give them bad habits, with the presence of whatever is calculated to give them good ones; consequently, they appear like one well regulated family, united together by the ties of affection. We heard no quarrels, and so strongly impressed are they with the conviction that their interest and duty are the same, and that to be happy themselves it is necessary to make those happy by whom they are surrounded, that they had no strife but in offices of kindness. It appeared to us, that if it should be their destiny to go out to service or to be apprenticed, they would be found an acquisition instead of a burden; and we wished that the orphan children in our Workhouses had the same advantage of moral and religious instruction, and the same prospect of being made happy themselves and useful to the families in which they may be placed. Whenever this shall be the case, instead of the town finding it difficult to get masters for these children of poverty, they will rather be sought for than despised, and instead of rising into manhood with expectation of relying upon a parish all their lives for support, they will feel an ambition and a capacity to maintain themselves.

"The boys and girls, between ten and seventeen years of age, are all employed in the mill, and in the evening from seven to half-past eight o'clock they pursue that system of education to which their attention has, up to ten years of age, been directed in the day time. In business they are regular and diligent, and in their manners mild and engaging. Public-houses, and other resorts of the idle or vicious, are not to be found in this happy village, and the absence of their contaminating influence is strikingly exemplified in the contrast of manners and of conduct between the inhabitants of New Lanark, and of most (we may say all) other manufacturing places.

"In the adult inhabitants of New Lanark we saw much to commend. In general they appeared clean, healthy, and sober. Intoxication, the parent of many vices and of much misery, is almost unknown. The consequence is that they are well clad, and well fed, and their dwellings are inviting. It is quite manifest that the New Lanark system has a tendency to improve the religious character; and we accord with Mr. Owen in his assertion that the inhabitants

* In a Report of the Leeds Rates Inquiry Committee, appointed in 1849, to inquire into the unprecedented increase of poor's rate, and to consider and suggest the means of the more profitable employment of pauper labour, it is stated "that the great increase in the total expenditure for local purposes, mainly arises from the outlay on the poor. The increase from this one source is so large and serious as to demand the most searching investigation. The expenses of the criminal courts and the gaol may be expected to increase, if the inference of former years be of any significance, and unless the general morals be improved."

Again—"With a poor rate for some time past gradually increasing, and even of late double in amount to what it had been in former years, we cannot but look upon the excessive outlay (upon gaol, workhouse, and school) as unwise and inconsiderate.

"JOHN HOLMES, Chairman.

"JAMES HOLE.

"DAVID GREEN," &c. &c.

of that place form a more religious community than any manufacturing establishment in the United Kingdom. This arises out of the circumstances by which they are surrounded, and is wholly independent of any sentiment on religious subjects entertained by Mr. Owen. Many of the work people, instead of spending their evenings in the public-house derive their amusement from witnessing the performances of their children in the school-rooms. No cursing or swearing is to be heard in this well-regulated colony, where almost everything wanted by the manufactory or its inhabitants is made. There are no quarrelsome men or brawling women. These effects arise partly out of the moral culture of the place, partly from the absence of public-houses, and partly from the seclusion of the inhabitants from the rest of the world, if that can be called seclusion where 2500 persons are congregated within the narrow compass of a quarter of a square mile.

"High wages are not the cause of the comfort which prevails. Amongst us the earnings would be thought low. The wages per week of those under eighteen, are, for the males that work by the day, 4s. 3d.; for the females, 3s. 5d.; and for those that work by the piece, 5s. 4d. for the former, and 4s. 7d. for the latter. The average weekly wages of those above eighteen years of age, are, for men, 9s. 11d.; for women, 6s. by the day; and 14s. 10d. for the former and 8s. for the latter by the piece. In addition, there are about 240 women, chiefly heads of families, employed partially in picking cotton, whose earnings amount to an average of 2s. 8d. per week. Every person in this establishment contributes one sixtieth part of his wages to a common fund, which is appropriated to his relief in time of sickness; besides which, there is a savings' bank for the work people, whose deposits, as taken last Christmas, amounted £3193. 14s. 10d.

"Although there are in the institution 1380 females, there have been only twenty-eight illegitimate births during the last nine years and a half, and the fathers of those children have been chiefly non-resident interlopers.

"Having given a view of the situation of the inhabitants of New Lanark, as arising out of the system which prevails there, we next proceed to contrast that system with the state of society which Mr. Owen recommends, and some of the characteristics of which he is gradually introducing. We have said that the present institution is a manufacturing one. Mr. Owen recommends that the new villages should be principally agricultural. He has at present only 240 acres of land for a population of 2500 persons; while he recommends, that there should be 1000 acres for 1200 individuals. At present every family has its own earnings, and appropriates them as they think proper. Mr. Owen recommends that there should be a community of interests, and that they should have all things in common. At present, none of the children are set to work until they attain the age of ten; but on the new plan they would begin to work in the open air, one hour in the day, at six years of age, and increase one hour every year up to twelve. As far as he has advanced, which he says is only two points towards twenty, supposing the latter to be the number of perfection, he has effected great things, more than could have been anticipated.

"It only remains for us now to suggest how far Mr. Owen's plans, combined with Mr. Falla's system of spade husbandry, can be made conducive to the permanent reduction of the poor rate in this township, and to the improvement of the condition of the necessitous poor.

"Our inquiry having been undertaken solely for parochial purposes, in making this report we do not enter into the general subject of the advantages of Mr. Owen's system as a national measure. There can be little doubt that, if an agricultural colony, similar to that recommended by Mr. Owen at Leeds, could be formed here, great public benefit would accrue from its establishment. This observation must be taken with some limitations:—The community of interests involves questions of great difficulty; and as that state of society has seldom been tried in any, and never in a pauper, population, we beg, for the present, not to offer any opinion upon its expediency. Meantime, the distresses of the poor are pressing; some temporary expedient is therefore necessary, and from the experiments of Mr. Falla, an eminent nurseryman at Gateshead, in a system of spade husbandry, it appears that labour may be found for the unemployed poor in that way, and that the abundance of the crops will more than reward the extra labour bestowed upon the ground by substituting the spade for the plough. In the neighbourhood of Newcastle, where these experiments are made, the average produce of land, by plough husbandry, does not exceed thirty bushels an acre; but on the small quantity of land which Mr. Falla has this year cultivated by the spade, he has produced by sowing:—

"In the broadcast way 58½ bushels per acre.
"Nine inch lines drilled 65½ ditto.

"The average produce of the spade over the plough husbandry, on land of the same kind and of the

same degree of richness, is, therefore, at least thirty bushels an acre; and the advantages of that system are thus exemplified:—

"Digging per acre	£2 0 0
"Drilling	0 6 0
	2 6 0
"Deduct two ploughings	0 16 0
	£1 10 0
"Additional produce; 30 bushels at 9s.	£13 10 0
"Extra expense as above	1 10 0
"Balance	£12 0 0

"If these calculations be correct, and they are founded upon experiments made for three successive years by a practical agriculturist, it follows that there is a balance of twelve pounds per acre in favour of spade husbandry, after affording to the workman two pounds' worth of human labour on each acre of land.

"With these results before them, the deputation do not hesitate to recommend that a sufficient quantity of land should be taken in the neighbourhood of Leeds, to employ a portion at least of their unemployed paupers.* The deputation would earnestly press upon the committee the placing of the orphan children at present in the Workhouse, under a system of moral culture somewhat resembling that which prevails at New Lanark. The difficulty of obtaining for them masters has become almost insurmountable, and too many of them, for want of proper training, when they go out into the world, are pests instead of blessings to society. To effect an object so salutary, it is desirable that they should be placed at a distance from the contaminating influence of the society of the adult paupers—that their minds should be trained to virtuous inclinations—that their health should be watched over; and that they should have a good, plain, useful education, suitable to their station in life, and calculated to render them an acquisition to any family in which they may be placed."

I would entreat my readers, especially if they be parents, to ponder well over this startling array of facts, and to remember, that the reign of brute force is now rapidly drawing to a close, to be succeeded by the even handed rule of justice (might transformed into right), based upon scientific truth. The dark and starless night of superstition and ignorance is already far gone, and soon will be dispelled by the light of Reason and of Science, which now illuminates the social horizon as with flashing electric currents, that weave in the mysterious loom of infinite nature—

"A chain of power,
Which girds the earth as with a band."

WILLIAM CONINGHAM.

PREACHERS.—If a sermon be good enough for anything, it ought to apply the Word of God to the conditions and vicissitudes of life; it ought to connect and pervade life, and to introduce and vivify eternity in time. If, indeed, the preacher, as a real "soul-curer," were to live all the week with and among his congregation, he would find the occasion and the means for this sort of preaching. In such a case, his experience of the week would suggest to him every Sunday some special and individual point to enlarge upon and inculcate, according to the capacities and wants of his hearers. But where does the clergyman thus live and preach? Nowhere; and it is for that very reason that all the sermons I ever heard or read deal in generalities; it is a mere accident if any one of the hearers can retain and apply any particular point. But whenever a sermon shows some feature of life or experience; whenever a true clergyman and "soul-curer" gets up and tells what he has seen and heard at the bed of death, or in the cottage of the poor, or, perhaps, in the care-filled house of the rich man—oh! how silent is the church at such times! How still and attentive are the parishioners, who just before showed nought but indifference and weariness! It often happens that the preacher is not aware how he made the impression, and why, and that he obliterates it by reflections which he, poor man, must needs tack to the living facts he has given us. I would often have given anything to shut the clergyman's mouth at the right time. And I will confess, I have thought it would be a great blessing for the Church, if all preaching could be prohibited for the next ten years. Since there must be some teaching, I would have the clergymen read good old sermons and homilies of the fathers and reformers, and good and short explanations of the Scriptures—but not a word of their own should they be allowed to say.—*Babylon and Jerusalem.*

* The difficulty of employing idle and inveterate paupers arises from the impossibility of compelling them to labour, as in the galls. An indolent and luxurious oligarchy dare not enforce a rule of conduct which they themselves habitually violate, viz., that "if any would not work neither should he eat." Pauperism, as well as a Peerage, is hereditary; and refractory paupers are the most intractable criminal patients of the galls.

Literature.

Critics are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make laws—they interpret and try to enforce them.—*Edinburgh Review.*

"GOSSIP REPORT" is a liar! When last week, on her authority, we told you that DICKENS had become the possessor of all his copyrights, we threw a doubt on the reliability of the assertion; it was a proper precaution, since the assertion is, to say the least of it, premature. Apropos of DICKENS, we are not to have his new serial till March. Christmas parties will want one standing topic of conversation in consequence.

In the way of literary appreciation nothing ought to astonish us; we ought to be hardened against surprise, and prepared for any amount of ignorance of what is stirring in the world. Yet so difficult is it to realize the condition of another's mind that we confess to an elevated eyebrow on hearing that a lady, well informed, and moving in "society," deplored that Archdeacon HARE should have written a life of JOHN STERLING, because had he not done so, STERLING would never have been heard of. On being told that in every case CARLYLE would have written the life, she replied, "Oh, that would have been of no consequence, no one reads CARLYLE, whereas HARE"

CARLYLE, whom no one reads, has, however, managed to make his book be so extensively bought, that a large edition was exhausted in a month, and we are now awaiting a second.

German Literature is barren enough just now; but there is one good sign amid the barrenness—theology and metaphysics are at a discount. Such activity as there is, is rather of a scientific kind. HUMBOLDT has completed, or nearly so, the fourth volume of *Kosmos*, and HARTING has published an admirable little work, *Die Macht des Kleinen sichtbar in der Bildung der Rinde unseres Erdballs.*

The great success of the day is HEINE's *Romanzero*, of which eight thousand copies were sold before it was prohibited. Gay, sarcastic, and poetic, from what we have seen of it we should say that it resembles all his previous works in spirit, though less finished in form. His *Faust* turns out to be a Ballet, written for Mr. LUMLEY, with Mephistopheles metamorphosed into a Danseuse! In the letter which concludes the work there is much interesting matter on the *Faust Saga*, and its mode of treatment.

Three novels lie on our table by a new German authoress, CAROLINA VON GÖHREN—*Ottomar, Victor and Thora*, and *Glieder einer Kette*. The authoress (whose real name is Frau von ZÖLLNER) is a lady of noble family, who has married a man of "no family," and has not died of the *mésalliance*. She is well known in the best circles of Dresden, and has lately taken to fill her leisure with writing novels, which she does with considerable skill. Her compatriot HAHN-HAHN, by her languid airs of haughty aristocracy, seems to have roused the scorn of Frau von ZÖLLNER, who attacks her with great spirit. But that which will win the sympathies of the English public for the new writer is her good plain common sense, and the moral tendency of her books.

From France we can expect no more literature for some time, and we must think ourselves fortunate that GUIZOT's two new works reached us before "society was saved," as the man says who has earned the execration of the world. These two works are *Etudes Morales* and *Etudes sur les Beaux Arts*. The former contains essays on immortality, on the state of Religion in modern society, on Faith, and a lengthy treatise on Education. The second is interesting, as showing us GUIZOT criticizing Art.

Bruxelles sends us the first volume of a new novel by EUGENE SUE, *Fernand Duplessis*; and also one by PAUL FEVAL, *Le Capitaine Simon*. Of them more hereafter.

"The paper that has no existence" is so maddened with impotent rage, because we will not elevate it to the dignity of our contempt, that its wriggling contortions are immensely ludicrous. It tries in vain to provoke us. We have already said that with it, and the like of it, we refuse to fight. In days of duelling no gentleman condescended to fight with an antagonist whose position did not entitle him to the satisfaction. The pen has replaced the sword; but the old principle still remains. Let the *Church and State Gazette* learn to respect the elementary rules of morality, let it gain a position in journalism, and we will not then refuse to meet it. Till then, let it rail as it pleases, we refuse to recognize it.

"Non scribit, cujus carmina nemo legit!"

FLORENCE SACKVILLE.

Florence Sackville; or, Self-Dependence: An Autobiography. By Mrs. Burbury. 3 vols. Smith, Elder, and Co.

It has long been an easy thing for hundreds of men and women to write verses which have almost the air of poetry. Poets, we know, are rarities; but what tribes of Poetasters there are! And if you compare the average verses now with the average of the last century, or even later, how excellent they seem! The poetical commonplaces of our day are of a higher mood. People write verses so correct and musical, so polished in diction, so picturesque and fanciful, that if not actually diamonds, these verses are the very best of paste. It is the same in most things. Elegance has become democratized. The general standard is raised. In manners, speech, furniture, elegance, and literature things are now commonplace which not long ago were exclusive. It is with poetry as with oak-carving. The real work of Labour wedded to Art is possessed only by the few; but imitation of oak-carving by machinery is to be had cheap enough.

What we have said of poetry applies with even greater truth to Fiction. The real novelist is still a rarity; but what hundreds of clever novels! If the works incessantly issuing from the press and swiftly vanishing again into obscurity, be compared with their peers of some twenty years ago, the comparison will be flattering to our authors. But absolutely speaking, we do not perceive any increase of power. As the wardrobe of poetry happens to be furnished just now with more varied and more brilliant dresses, and the poetaster need only give himself the trouble to take them off the hook, so also is the novelist's repertory more richly stored with incidents, characters, caricatures, and situations. The invention is as poor now as it was in the days of the Minerva Press; but the Masks are better; the standard is higher; people are cleverer, and want cleverer novels.

Florence Sackville suggested these remarks. It is another clever novel, by a new writer, and that writer a woman. It is amusing to read, and makes one believe the authoress a more amusing woman than her book. But from first to last there is scarcely the faintest indication of invention, and nowhere that urgent desire for reality, which is the soul of genius. By invention we do not, of course, mean the introduction of that which never before was known, but simply the finding of the truth which lies in a character. It is the reverse of taking down from its hook in the wardrobe the "dress" which the character has previously worn. All the scenes and all the characters in *Florence Sackville* are familiar to us—some of them obviously taken from life, but taken from life to be rouged, wigged, spangled, and set before the footlights that their reality may be lost in "effect." Mrs. Burbury will understand what we mean when we refer her to the scenes in which *Florence* figures as an actress in country theatres. The details have been "got up" with more care than is usual in novels; the slang of the greenroom is there; but the reality, we beg to assure her, is wanting. Instead of representing theatrical life, she represents what she imagines it must be; and her imagination misleads her.

We will not dwell on these defects, because they are defects shared by almost all our novelists; and it is enough if we indicate that *Florence Sackville* is not a masterpiece, nor the promise of masterpieces. It is amusing, varied, clever. How many readers ask for more? Give your idle evening to it, and thank the gods! There are stirring incidents, shrewd remarks, dashes of sentiment, and peeps at life: expect nothing of a more durable nature, and you will be pleased with the book.

There is a new and true touch in the picture of

the heroine's debut as an actress. In novels heroines always succeed. They always win their spurs at once. It is otherwise in life. And *Florence* is very properly made not a great actress, but a clever woman "getting through her part."

"A mass of lights and faces, a tremendous noise of clapping hands, and a sensation that I was curtseying, is all that I remember for the first few minutes. That I spoke was certain, because I heard the buzz of Helen's voice in answer, though unable to distinguish anything that she said, and I crossed mechanically at the right time and place, seeing her do so; but I walked and moved as in a dream: having no more power over myself, and knowing no more what I was doing—so far as exercising thought and judgment went—than one of Madame Tussaud's wax figures."

"At last the scene was over; all its duties having been gone through in the same apathetic, nerveless, dreamy way."

"When the scene-drop fell after the second act, Mr. Beauchamp and a lady wrapped in a large opera-cloak, and holding closely to her face the fur which enveloped her throat so that none could have recognized her, came to me where I sat. They led me to a remote part of the stage, and Mrs. Hugh Lyndon (for it was she) taking both my hands, looked pityingly in my face, and said,—

"My poor girl, you must give this up. I came to scold you; but it would be cruel to add to what you are already suffering, by a single word. You must give it up."

"Why? Have I made so complete a failure?" I asked, in a faint whisper.

"Yes, and no," interrupted Mr. Beauchamp. "No one in front can hear a word you say. It is all dumb show; not ungraceful certainly, but very unsatisfactory."

"I must do better," I said, languidly.

"You cannot. I fear we have mistaken your talents completely; and you have gone through this public and painful ordeal for no purpose."

"I am afraid so, indeed," said Mrs. Lyndon.

"Mrs. Chace, who had missed me from the green-room, now came up, and, bowing to my companions, said,—

"I wish you could infuse a little more courage into Miss Sackville, Mrs. Lyndon; she only requires nerve to do very well, and without it she will ruin her reputation and future prospects. A decided failure upon a first appearance can never be overcome."

"I am greatly disappointed," murmured Mr. Beauchamp, as if to himself. "I never was so mistaken in my life."

"I must try," I said.

"It is in vain: you have not the power, my dear. You read very well—beautifully—in a room; but on the stage you are terribly at a loss. I can't think how we could all have been so infatuated," exclaimed Mr. Beauchamp, in tones of great though suppressed annoyance; and with, as I thought, the slightest possible tinge of contempt.

"I murmured something about endeavouring; but he said, quickly,—

"You've done your best, my dear; I know you have: everybody must see and acknowledge it; only, unfortunately, it is a 'best' which will not do for the public. It is a most unhappy mistake. Success is the only thing that can make this profession endurable; without it, it is detestable."

"The manner in which this was spoken stung me more than the words, and a resolve, made up of half sorrow, half defiance, took possession of me. I would neither be so contemptuously pitied, nor so coolly condemned. I would succeed."

"The chagrin of a defeat, the blight of prospects I had forfeited so much to brighten, my mother's ruined hopes, all rushed upon me at once; and forgetting, in their greater magnitude, the terrors and languor I had so weakly suffered to unnerve and subdue me, I roused myself to such a height of indignation against my own cowardice and other people's pity, that when I went on for the scene with Master Walter, in which Julia signs the title-deeds, I was as self-possessed (although my heart beat wildly) as if I had played the part a hundred times, and was now rehearsing it alone."

"An English audience is generally good-natured and patient; willing, except in rare instances, to encourage the timid and judge mercifully of a novice. I found them so that night. No sooner did they perceive that I was anxious to exert myself, than they afforded me every encouragement, and gave me every token of goodwill. While I, finding that they were pleased and looked upon me with kindness, threw off the thrall of fear, and giving myself up to the excitement of the moment, went on with an abandon which would have astonished me far more than anybody else, if I had given myself time, or calmness, to think."

"My only rest was now upon the stage. When off it, I paced up and down behind the scenes with a restless, anxious step; heeding no one, thinking of no one: I was in a state of wild, impetuous excitement. The stage—the stage—to be on the stage,

before those blazing lights, doing, acting, striving—anything but to be still, waiting, and alone."

"Mrs. Chace did not talk to me; she saw that my nerves were too tightly strung to be under my own power of control, and knew that while the tension lasted I should go on boldly; but that, if they gave way while at their present painful stretch, the reaction and depression would be extreme. Thoughtfully and kindly, therefore, she let me alone."

"The curtain fell amidst thunders of applause. The instant it reached the ground, I turned mechanically away, and had reached the foot of the stairs, my way to which I had to make through that worst of all abominations—a rush of gentlemen behind the scenes, when Sir Thomas Clifford hurried after me, exclaiming,—

"You must go on again, Julia. They will have you."

"No, no," I said, mounting the steps; "I cannot; indeed, I cannot. I am exhausted."

"But you must.—Hark!"

"And truly the din was horrible. Whoops, whistles, cat-calls, yells, stamping of feet, knocking of sticks, mingled with clapping of hands and cries of 'Julia!' combined to make a most terrible confusion. I had no time to listen to it, however; for Mr. Osborne came rushing up, crying,—

"Where's Julia? where's Julia? You must go on, my dear (everybody is 'my dear' in theatrical phraseology). Where's Mr. Alston to lead her on? Go to his dressing-room, and beg him to come here. Don't be frightened: you've done wonders. It will be all over in a minute. Just pop on at the O. P. door, advance a few paces, smile and curtsy, pick up the bouquets, look unutterable things, and then glide off again—that's all."

"And with this unwelcome, unmeaning, and most absurd ceremony my performance for that night ended."

Florence Sackville is clever enough to assure us of future novels from the same writer. Let us therefore suggest that, instead of scattering her effect by the introduction of so many episodes, thus making the novel not a story but a string of stories, she should take a broader canvas and fill that with one central group round which the others may stand, not as separate centres, but as rays to and from the centre. To be able to tell a story of episodes requires great mastery over *l'art de conter*: Dumas seems the only one who now does it successfully. If Mr. Burbury will compare the simplicity, unity, and consequent intensity of the structure of *Jane Eyre* with that of her autobiographical fiction, she will fully seize our meaning.

THE MARTYRS OF FREEDOM.

Footsteps of our Forefathers: what they suffered and what they sought. By James G. Miall. A. Cockshaw.

The Church of England in the Reigns of the Stuarts. A. Cockshaw.

The Test of Experience; or, the Voluntary Principle in the United States. By John Howard Hinton, M.A. A. Cockshaw.

THESE are three volumes of a series to which we desire to call attention. *The Library for the Times* is issued by Nonconformists, to set forth their history and their views; and, however we may separate from the Nonconformist body in respect of dogmatic theology, we are earnestly and heartily with them in the spirit of their manful and illustrious struggle for liberty of conscience. It is incalculable the good England owes to the brave Nonconformists who, in the long centuries of peril and persecution, upheld the sacredness of conscience. Had they not struggled and suffered, we should now be somewhat in the miserable plight of Germany and France. If any one doubts this, let him read Mr. Miall's eloquent *Footsteps of our Forefathers*; one of the works we would wish to put into the hands of young Englishmen.

Its design is felicitous. Taking up certain typical persons or events, it introduces the reader into the very scene where those events occurred. Thus Wiclif, the type of "Light in a dark age," is the occasion of a picturesque description of the town of Lutterworth, ancient and modern; so of the rest; and in this way history, archeology, and biography are made to throw light and interest upon the various incidents in the long struggle for freedom. The execution is admirable. The work is picturesque, animated, eloquent—enriched and not overloaded with erudition—varied by piquant anecdotes and pleasant digressions. It is more popular in style than will meet the approval of those (dull dogs mostly!) who stickle for the "dignity of history," and who, from reasonable contempt of "royal roads to learning," lapse into unreasonable desire for "repulsive roads to learning"; but vivacity is not superficiality, and Mr. Miall's book is all the better for its animation. There are some tempting passages for extract. We borrow from him a quotation he makes which will amuse our readers:—

THE OLD STORY!

"St. Eloy gave the following advice to his parishioners:—'Redeem your souls from destruction while you have the means in your power—offer presents and titles to churchmen; come more frequently to church; humbly implore the patronage of the saints; for if you do these things, you may come with security in the day of retribution to the tribunal of the Eternal Judge, and say, Give to us, O Lord, for we have given to Thee.'"

What a naïve translation of ecclesiastic polity!

We could not suppress a smile when we read of the horror created in orthodox minds by the publication of Wiclif's translation of the Bible:—

THE OLD CRY!

"The excitement which followed the issuing of this edition of the Scriptures was intense. A bill was brought into Parliament to suppress the whole work, under the plea that it would prove ruinous to all religion. The friends of Wiclif argued that, as the translation of the Scriptures into Latin had been followed by no less than sixty different heretical opinions, though none of those heresies had been charged on that translation, there could be no argument against the English Bible, which did not hold against the Latin one. The bill for the suppression was thrown out by a large majority."

Our space is so limited we can only afford room for one more extract:—

NOW AND THEN.

"What would not a historian and antiquarian of the present day sacrifice, to know the details of a journey from Lutterworth to London, 500 years ago, or to look upon the picture of the metropolis at that date! Instead of the well-adjusted towns and quiet homesteads which the traveller now passes on his way to the great city, the route would then be marked by the presence of castles of strength, whilst the few inhabitants were fain to place cottages or other property beneath their gigantic protection. Extensive forests yet stretched themselves across the country, the haunts of the successors of Robin Hood and his associates; and such a man as the reformer would be only safe with a military escort to protect him, not only from such marauders, but from open and avowed enemies. Except castles, nothing more distinguished the period than the churches which were springing up in all the larger towns, marked by the features of a true, though then somewhat modern, style of architecture. Arrived in London, possibly to make his 'hostelrie' at the Tabard Inn, in Southwark, the traveller from Leicestershire would gaze with unconcealed eagerness upon a metropolis then rarely visited. The old, ugly, but venerable bridge, now supplanted, was then the only one which spanned the river, the stream at ebb tide flowing down its arches almost with the force of a cataract. Though on this bridge the church of St. Thomas was conspicuous, yet it was as yet unincumbered with the numerous buildings afterwards attaching themselves to it, like limpets; and chivalry, then the prevailing fashion, held occasional joustings on its narrow area. The order of the Templars had been recently suppressed; but that of the Knights of St. John survived, and maintained its splendours in a building adjacent to the ancient gate yet standing. 'The pomp and circumstance of glorious war' was witnessed everywhere. Mingling with the crowd in the streets, less dense than that of 1851, the spectator might discern the mailed baron with his armed retinue of bowmen and lancers, or the gay lady wearing the embroidered jacket, not much unlike the 'polka' of a more modern day, though sometimes accompanied by the long strips of linen which dangled from her elbows, or fluttered like pennons in the breeze, whilst her head was enveloped in an inflated but not ungraceful head-tire, and surmounted by a woollen cap. Ecclesiastics of high rank were then little distinguishable from the military barons; the man of peace was not to be found amidst those mounted and armed retainers. Sometimes, amidst the crowd, who were dressed in sober, and often wretched habits, might be discerned the men of some of the less strict orders, or the monk with his bald tonsure, and often jolly form; and, not unfrequently, the eye might rest upon the bare head, brown coat, and long rosary of the Franciscan friar, or the solemn, black-hooded stateliness of the Dominican. The civic honours of London were then in their infancy, and were guarded by the citizens with a jealousy pertaining to semi-barbarous times; whilst the people were at all times ripe for conflict, or even for revolt. A peculiar feature of the period was, that the city was then beginning to be remarkable for its opaque and dense atmosphere, derived from the use of coals, then recently introduced. The sides of the Thames were not then, as now, crowded with houses of merchandise; stately palaces, well fortified, stood on the Strand side of the river, among which the Savoy, the castellated residence of the Duke of Lancaster, was very conspicuous. A large Dominican friary stood in Blackfriars; another of equal pretensions near to the Temple, belonged to the Carmelites, and was called Whitefriars; the Franciscans had an edifice in Newgate-street; whilst a fourth, in the vicinity of

what is now the Bank, was devoted to the Austins or Augustines. The plague, which had recently desolated Europe, had been extremely fatal in London, and had caused considerable improvements in the city. But it was close, ill-ventilated, and inconvenient; and the inhabitant of Chester can well understand, from certain parts of his own city, what was its general appearance."

The Church of England under the Stuarts is the continuation of a history formerly published in this series, *The Church under the Tudors*. It narrates the story of what Religious Liberty attempted and suffered under James I., Charles I., Cromwell, Charles II., and James II.: a story which should be kept green in our memory, not simply that it may warn us of danger, but also that we may feel some reverence and gratitude for those who fought the good fight in times gone by.

THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN.

History of the War in Afghanistan. From unpublished Letters and Journals of Political and Military Officers employed in Afghanistan, throughout the Entire Period of British Connection with that Country. By John William Kaye. In 2 vols. Bentley.

THE Red Indians have their hunting grounds; England has its fighting ground: the East. There our soldiers learn the art of warfare, and enlarge their lives. There we rear Wellingtons and get rid of younger sons. It is the market for our bellicose material and unmarried women. Such are the main answers to those who look askance upon the morally indefensible "conquest of India," and our incessant aggressions there. These failing to silence the objectors, another battery is opened—the spread of Christianity! Think of the millions ignorant of Christianity: is it not right we should conquer them, if only to convert them?

We will not moot these vexed questions here. Simply to point to our gigantic possessions in India is enough to indicate the large public such a work as this *War in Afghanistan* must necessarily interest. Had it been written by the dullest of pens, it could not but have arrested the attention of military men, and of those civilians who have relatives in India. Written by one of the ablest and most agreeable of pens, it turns out captivating even to the "general reader." We approached the two bulky volumes with something of misgiving. Two volumes of some seven hundred pages upon a war, or series of wars, in India, are formidable to a man who has literally no leisure. But see the effect of style and skilful arrangement! Instead of a labour, the reading was a delight! It kept us from our beds. We Orientalized our minds for the nonce. We lived in India, fought in India, philosophized in India. And now we tell you to go and do likewise.

The *History of the War in Afghanistan* commences with an Introduction of one hundred and sixty pages, which details the history of our connection with the Afghans from the commencement of the present century till the year 1837. Mr. Kaye apologizes, and properly, for the confusion necessarily created in the European reader by the repetition of incidents greatly resembling each other, of conquest and reconquest, of treachery and counter-treachery, of rebellions raised and suppressed, and also by the profusion of Oriental names. But amidst the confusion there are broad clear spaces; and we are reminded, by incidental touches, of the distant epoch spoken of—a distance measured on the road of Progress rather than of Time—e. g., when the British envoy succeeds in persuading the Shah to issue a vindictive firman, in which the governors of provinces are exhorted "to expel and extirpate the French, and never allow them to obtain a footing in any place"; adding, "you are at full liberty to disgrace and slay the intruders"—a liberty they no doubt mercilessly practised. On this Mr. Kaye remarks:—

"But those were days when, even in India, men's minds were untinged and unsettled, and their ideas of right and wrong confounded by the monstrosities of the French revolution. Revolutionary Frenchmen were looked upon as animals to be slain and exterminated with as little ceremony and as little compunction as venomous reptiles or savage beasts."

Little room as we have for extract, we must quote this picturesque description of

THE DOORANEH EMPIRE.

"The Dooraneh Empire, which has since been shorn of some of its fairest provinces, then consisted of Afghanistan, part of Khorassan, Cashmere, and the Derajat. The Sikh nation had not then acquired the strength which a few years later enabled it, under the military directorship of Runjeet Singh, to curb

the pretensions and to mutilate the empire of its dominant neighbour. That empire extended from Herat in the west, to Cashmere in the east; from northern Balkh to southern Shikarpoor. Bounded on the north and east by immense mountain ranges, and on the south and west by vast tracts of sandy desert, it opposed to external hostility natural defences of a formidable character. The general aspect of the country was wild and forbidding; in the imagination of the people haunted with ghouls and genii; but not unvaried by spots of gentler beauty in the valleys and on the plains, where the fields were smiling with cultivation, and the husbandman might be seen busy at his work.

"Few and far between as were the towns, the kingdom was thinly populated. The people were a race—or a group of races—of hardy, vigorous mountaineers. The physical character of the country had stamped itself on the moral conformation of its inhabitants. Brave, independent, but of a turbulent vindictive character, their very existence seemed to depend upon a constant succession of internal feuds. The wisest among them would probably have shaken their heads in negation of the adage—'Happy the country whose annals are a blank.' They knew no happiness in anything but strife. It was their delight to live in a state of chronic warfare. Among such a people civil war has a natural tendency to perpetuate itself. Blood is always crying aloud for blood. Revenge was a virtue among them; the heritage of retribution passed from father to son; and murder became a solemn duty. Living under a dry, clear, bracing climate, but one subject to considerable alternations of heat and cold, the people were strong and active; and as navigable rivers were wanting, and the precipitous nature of the country forbade the use of wheeled carriages, they were for the most part good horsemen, and lived much in the saddle. Early trained to the use of arms, compelled constantly to wear and often to use them in the ordinary intercourse of life, every man was more or less a soldier or a bandit. Their very shepherds were men of strike. The pastoral and the predatory character were strangely blended; and the tented cantonments of the sheep-drivers often bristled into camps of war.

"But there was a brighter side to the picture. Of a cheerful, lively disposition, seemingly but little in accordance with the outward gravity of their long beards and sober garments, they might be seen in their villages, at evening tide, playing or dancing like children in their village squares; or, assembling in the Fakir's gardens, to smoke and talk, retailing the news gathered in the shops, reciting stories, and singing their simple Afghan ballads, often expressive of that tender passion which, among them alone of all Oriental nations, is worthy of the name of love. Hospitable and generous, they entertain the stranger without stint, and even his deadliest enemy was safe beneath the Afghan's roof. There was a simple courtesy in their manner, which contrasted favourably with the polished insincerity of the Persians on one side, and the arrogant ferocity of the Rohillas on the other. Judged by the strict standard of a Christian people, they were not truthful in word or honest in deed; but, side by side with other Asiatic nations, their truthfulness and honesty were conspicuous. Kindly and considerate to their immediate dependants, the higher classes were followed with loyal zeal and served with devoted fidelity by the lower; and, perhaps, in no eastern country was less of tyranny exercised over either the slaves of the household or the inmates of the zenana. Unlettered were they, but not incurious; and although their more polished brethren of Persia looked upon them as the Boeotians of Central Asia, their Spartan simplicity and manliness more than compensated for the absence of the Attic wit and eloquence of their western neighbour.

"Soldiers, husbandmen, and shepherds, they were described as the very antithesis of a nation of shopkeepers. The vocation of the tradesman they despised. To Tajiks, Hindoos, and other aliens, was the business of selling entrusted, except upon the large scale which entitled the dealer to be regarded as a merchant, and generally entailed upon him the necessities of a wandering and adventurous life. The principal commerce of the country was with the Persian and Russian states. In the bazaars of Herat, Candahar, and Caubul the manufactures of Ispahan, Yazd, and Cashan, the spices of India, and the broad cloths of Russia, brought by Astrakan and Bokhara, found a ready market. Occasionally, when the settled state of the country gave encouragement to commercial enterprise, an adventurous merchant would make his way, through Dera from Bombay, with a caravans of British goods, for the scarlet cloths of England were in especial demand to deck the persons of the body servants of the king. The indigenous products of the country were few, but important; for the rich shawls of Cashmere and its gaudy chintzes of Mooltan, exported in large quantities, were in good repute all over the civilized world. At Herat some velvets and taffetas of god quality were manufactured, but only for internal consumption; whilst the assafœtida of that place, so madder of Candahar, and the indigo of the Derajat found a market in the Persian cities, and the dried fruits of the country were in request in all neigh-

bouring parts. These, a few other drugs of little note, and some iron from the Hindoo Koosh and the Solimane range, formed the main staple of Afghan commerce. Between the large towns there was a constant interchange of commodities; and long caravans, or caravans, were ever in motion, from east to west and from north to south, toiling across the sandy plains, or struggling through the precipitous defiles, exposed to the attacks of predatory tribes, who levied their contributions often not without strife and bloodshed."

After this Introductory Book, Mr. Kaye narrates at considerable length, and with great animation, the complete history of that unfortunate, and not very creditable, episode in our Indian annals—the war from 1838 to 1841. He does so with a copiousness of detail, a vigour of style, and a trustworthiness of manner which wins the reader's confidence. And we think it right to add that the persons best informed on this subject give him high praise for accuracy and impartiality, making some deductions for the bias of friendship in his delineations of some minor officers. We state this because we have no authority ourselves in such matters: our judgment must be restricted to the literary qualities of the book.

Mr. Kaye has composed his work with the aid of an immense mass of unpublished materials. He has had letters and documents placed at his disposal; and the personal confidence of some of the chief actors has greatly aided him. To these he joins the advantage of a long residence in India. So much for matter. For its workmanship he has an open candid mind; a clear bright style; and a mastery over the difficult art of compilation: the three great qualities of an historian.

But having thus given him his meed of praise, we must not forget to warn him against an occasional laxity of style. In the very first page of the book we were startled at the sight of the odious word "party"—Mr. Kaye waiting till "some more competent party" should undertake the history! Nothing so bad as that offends us in the narrative; but there is every now and then a sort of careless acquiescence in commonplace which, with a general tendency to diffuseness, must be accounted as deductions from the merit of these volumes.

We have marked so many passages for extract that we are puzzled where to make the selection. Here is a page which makes you hold your breath:—

THE STORMING OF GHUZZEE.

"A gusty night had heralded a gusty morn, when Keane, inwardly bewailing the absence of his heavy guns, planted his light field-pieces on some commanding heights opposite the citadel, and filled the gardens near the city walls with his Sepoy musketeers. No sound issued from the fortress, nor was there any sign of life, whilst unseen under cover of the night, and unheard above the loud wailings of the wind, the storming column was gathering upon the Caubul road, and the engineers were carrying up their powder bags to the gate. The advance was under Colonel Dennie, of the Thirteenth Light Infantry; and the main column under Brigadier Sale. Captain Thomson, of the Bengal Engineers, directed the movements of the explosion party; and with him were his two subalterns, Durand and Macleod, and Captain Peat, of the Bombay corps. Three hours after midnight everything was ready for the assault.

"Then Keane ordered the light batteries to open upon the works of Ghuznee. It was a demonstration—harmless but not useless; for it fixed the attention of the enemy, and called forth a responsive fire. A row of blue lights along the walls now suddenly broke through the darkness and illuminated the place. The enemy had been beguiled by the false attack, and were now looking out towards our batteries, eager to learn the nature of the operations commenced by the investing force. And whilst the Afghans were thus engaged, anticipating an escalade and manning their walls, the British engineers were quietly piling their powder bags at the Caubul gate.

"The work was done rapidly and well. The match was applied to the hose. The powder exploded. Above the roaring of the guns and the rushing of the wind, the noise of the explosion was barely audible. But the effect was as mighty as it was sudden. A column of black smoke arose; and down with a crash came heavy masses of masonry and shivered beams in awful ruin and confusion. Then the bugle sounded the advance. Dennie, at the head of his stormers, pushed forward through the smoke and dust of the aperture; and soon the bayonets of his light companies were crossing the swords of the enemy who had rushed down to the point of attack. A few moments of darkness and confusion; and then the foremost soldiers caught a glimpse of the morning sky, and pushing gallantly on, were soon established in the fortress. Three hearty, animating cheers—so loud and clear that they were heard throughout the general camp—announced to their excited comrades below that Dennie and his stormers had entered Ghuznee."

Those who philosophize as they read, *glozing* the text with—

"Thoughts beyond the reaches of their souls,"

will find abundant opportunities in this history. Read the following scene, and, taking your eyes from the élite of European advancement, think what centuries must elapse before this race can be moved along the grooves of our civilization:—

"It was shortly after the retirement of Shah Soojah to the British possessions that Futteh Khan set out, at the head of an army, to the western boundary of Afghanistan. Persia had long been encroaching upon the limits of the Douranee Empire, and it was now to stem the tide of Kujjar invasion that the Afghan Wuzer set out for Khorassan. At this time he was the virtual ruler of the country. Weak, indolent, and debauched, Shah Mahmoud, retaining the name and the pomp of royalty, had yielded the actual government of the country into the hands of Futteh Khan and his brothers. The Princes of the blood royal quailed before the Barukzye Sirdars. Ferrozood-Deen, brother of the reigning monarch, was at that time governor of Herat. Whether actuated by motives of personal resentment or ambition, or instigated by Shah Mahmoud himself, Futteh Khan determined to turn the Persian expedition to other account, and to throw Herat into the hands of the Barukzyes. The execution of this design was entrusted to Dost Mahomed. He entered Herat with his Kohistanee followers as a friend; and when the chiefs of the city were beyond its gates, in attendance upon the Wuzer, with characteristic Afghan treachery and violence he massacred the palace guards, seized the person of the Prince, spoiled the treasury, and violated the harem. Setting the crown upon this last act of violence, he tore the jewelled waistband from the person of the royal wife of one of the royal Princes. The outraged lady is said to have sent her profaned garment to Prince Kamran, and to have drawn from him an oath that he would avenge the injury. He was true to his vow. The blow was struck; but it fell not on the perpetrator of the outrage: it fell upon Futteh Khan.

"Dost Mahomed had fled for safety to Cashmere. The Wuzer, returning from the Persian expedition, fell into the hands of Prince Kamran, who punctured his eyes with the point of a dagger. What followed is well known. Enraged by so gross an outrage on a member of the Suddoze family, alarmed at the growing power of the Barukzyes, and further irritated by the resolute refusal of Futteh Khan to betray his brothers, who had effected their escape from Herat, Kamran and his father, Shah Mahmoud, agreed to put their noble prisoner to death. They were then on their way from Candahar to Caubul. The ex-Minister was brought into their presence, and again called upon to write to his brothers, ordering them to surrender themselves to the Shah. Again he refused, alleging that he was but a poor blind captive; that his career was run; that he had no longer any influence; and that he could not consent to betray his brethren. Exasperated by the resolute bearing of his prisoner, Mahmoud Shah ordered the unfortunate Minister—the king-maker to whom he owed his crown—to be put to death before him; and there, in the presence of the feeble father and the cruel son, Futteh Khan was by the attendant courtiers literally hacked to pieces. His nose, ears, and lips were cut off; his fingers severed from his hands, his hands from his arms, his arms from his body. Limb followed limb, and long was the horrid butchery continued before the life of the victim was extinct. Futteh Khan raised no cry, offered no prayer for mercy. His fortitude was unshaken to the last. He died as he had lived, the bravest and most resolute of men—like his noble father, a victim to the perfidy and ingratitude of princes. The murder of Poyndah Khan shook the Suddoze dynasty to its base. The assassination of Futteh Khan soon made it a heap of ruins."

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution; or, Illustrations by Pen and Pencil of the History, Biography, Scenery, Relics, and Traditions of the War for Independence. By Benson J. Lossing. In two vols. Imported by Sampson Low.

This is the first volume of an important American work, which we shall review at length when the second reaches us; meanwhile we may inform our readers that it is an attempt to combine the history of the American War with a graphic pen-and-pencil sketch of the various localities. A history of the Battle of Waterloo, for example, is a very different thing from a visit to the Field of Waterloo which should weave in history with local traditions and descriptions. In like manner this *Field-Book of the Revolution* is more than a history of the Revolution. It is a handsome work profusely illustrated, the completion of which we await.

The Writings of Douglas Jerrold. Collected Edition. Vol. 2. Men of Character. Bradbury and Evans.

We have so recently, and at some length, considered the character of Jerrold's writings, that we need do little more than announce this issue of the second volume of the cheap collected edition. It contains

eight of his humorous extravaganzas which appeared years ago in *Blackwood's Magazine*: very extravagant and droll they are; but *Men of Character* is hardly the name for them, as he himself seems perfectly aware, saying:—"Indeed, *Men of Character* are little other than *Men of Outlines*; pen-and-ink flourishes; with possibly, now and then, some better trace of human similitude, and now running into mere grotesque." Let us add, however, that the Jerroldian style is never absent.

The Liver, the Great Purifying Organ of the Body; its Importance to Health, and the extreme Frequency of its Disorder. By Charles Searle, M.D. H. Baillière.

Dr. Searle has here presented to the public a small volume in which the function of the liver in the animal economy is clearly and popularly illustrated in language free from technicalities. Considering the part played by the liver, as the chemical laboratory in which the blood must be prepared for its final change in the lungs, a larger volume might have been devoted to it, and even the unprofessional reader not found it tedious. Dr. Searle has, however, aided his text by two diagrams,—poor, indeed, as representations of the organs, but clear enough as diagrams,—the second so useful in conveying an idea of the circulation through the liver, and the relations in which the liver stands to the principal organs, that it is well worth the small price of the volume.

Like many others who have devoted themselves to the study of some special organ, Dr. Searle seems inclined to over-estimate its importance. From a perusal of his book the general reader would conclude that the liver was almost always the source of functional derangements. Whereas the complexity and connexion of the human frame is such that the great problem of pathology has always been correctly to localize disease. The heart acts on the liver, the brain on the heart, the stomach on the brain, the lungs on the stomach, the liver on the lungs, and so on—one eternal *corso ricorso*, one network of action and reaction, one vast interdependence of separate parts. We touch this point in passing as a caution to the unprofessional reader, to whom we commend the work, not by which to treat his own diseases, but by which he may gain a clear conception of his liver.

Dr. Searle shows how there may be disease of the liver without pain, without even appreciable enlargement; and he enumerates several results of his own professional experience: with which, as laymen, we have nothing to do.

The physiology of his subject Dr. Searle touches only in outlines. We seize the pretext, however, to lay before our readers a modern discovery which will interest them, viz., that *sugar* is elaborated in the tissue of the liver! Hence M.C. Bernard, the French chemist, regards the liver and the lungs as performing two complementary functions:—the liver elaborating the sugar, the lungs consuming it in the act of respiration, separating from it the carbonic acid which it expires.

The Anatomist's Vade Mecum: a System of Human Anatomy. By Erasmus Wilson, F.R.S. Fifth Edition. Churchill.

It is enough to write *fifth edition* on any work of pure science to dispense with criticism altogether. A book like the present can only succeed by intrinsic excellence. It is not entertaining. It flatters no prejudice. It backs up no system. Only continued use, and comparison with other works, can make its merits appreciated; and the sense of its value must be very evident before it could reach a fifth edition.

We knew the book of old, and have examined this edition with considerable pleasure. It is a compact, closely printed, book of some 650 pages with 200 woodcuts, many of them beautiful, and a full index. The explanations are clear and brief; but being addressed to the profession are of course stiff with technical terms. We mention this because the book is a book to work with, not to be read by the uninitiated. It forms one of Churchill's valuable series of *Manuals*, and cannot be too emphatically recommended.

Travelling Hours: Curiosities of Communication. C. Knight.

"Literature for the Rail" seems now the decided bent of publishers. It would be strange if Charles Knight, the creator of cheap, good literature, did not bring his quota. The specimen before us aims more at instruction than entertainment, yet the instruction is entertainingly given. It contains separate articles, brief yet full, on *The Road and the Railway*, as it was and is—i. e. how our fathers travelled by Packhorses, Carriers, Long Stage Waggon, Stage Coaches, and Mail Coaches (where by the way a passage or so might fitly have been inserted from that wonderful bit of word-painting by De Quincey, in *Blackwood* some two years ago, on *The Glory of Mail Coach Travelling*), and a very fair outline of Railway travelling. Then come the *Electric Telegraph*—the *Seal and the Steamer*—and *Ocean Steamers*, including our *Foreign Mails*. The papers have no preface stating whether they are original or selected; but we believe there can be little danger in ascribing the whole to Charles Knight, and we have a remembrance of having read some of the pages before, we think in *Household Words*.

The Arts.

FRANKLIN'S ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PARABLES.

Mr. Mitchell, of Bond-street, has just published one of the most superb Christmas Books yet issued, and one in every way a grace to the Drawing-room. It is an imperial quarto tastefully bound, and contains the Parables engraved (not printed), with twelve very large Illustrations by Franklin, engraved with great beauty by Nusser of Dusseldorf, Goodall, Lightfoot, Joubert, Blanchard, and Watt. It is difficult by description to convey an accurate idea of the costly beauty of this work as an Illustrated volume; I shall, therefore, now consider it under its other aspect, that of Art.

Franklin has evidently bestowed great pains on these Designs, and has succeeded in producing Illustrations which have thought and beauty enough to charm the willing public, if they do not always command the suffrages of those who set up a high standard. They have great merit; but they have that abiding want of English Painting:—grandeur and fullness of conception. They show thought, but it is *first thought*. In the drawing I miss that sense of movement and action, which gives reality to a picture; the attitudes express motion, but the muscles are too often in complete repose. The heads are too often generalized forms, not individual faces. They run into types, misnamed Ideal. The expression is apt to have the same fault.

Plate I. *The Merciless Servant*. This is a curious mixture of Raphael and Stoddart, illustrating the general remarks just made, especially in the want of visible muscular activity. The servant in the lower plan, who is struggling with his hard creditor, could not for a moment stand in that position with the muscles of his legs so unstrung; he would topple over at a touch.

Plate II. *The Lord of the Vineyard* is in many respects superior—perhaps, because the figures are in a state of repose. The engraving too is splendid. The faces are individualized and expressive; the drawing excellent. The back of that man in the centre is a study; and the disposition and drawing of the hands admirable. But the figure of Christ is very unsatisfactory, both in conception and drawing. The figure is dumpy, the hands out of proportion, and the face namby pamby. Indeed, throughout, the figure of Christ is a failure—but it is not always so in modern Art?

Plate IV. *The Faithful Servant* will, I venture to say, be a great favourite. It is in the approved Keepsake style, exquisitely engraved, but no more like Art than sweetmeats are like food.

Plates V. and VI. have something of the same charm and same defect. It is hazardous little to say that the sale of the book, after its general appearance, will be owing to these plates!

Plate VII. *The Sheep and the Goats* is an attempt at the Michel Angelesque, the reverse of terrific or imposing. Yet there are some happy touches in those figures on the right hand.

Plate VIII. *The Good Samaritan*. In the landscape of this there is nice feeling; but if you look at the leg of the Samaritan, you will see that it is not clinging to the donkey's side, not even in the faintest manner; nor is the hand which supports him exerting the smallest effort: the leg is dangling by the side of the donkey, the hand is lying on the side of the Samaritan.

Plate IX. *The Prodigal Son* is very fine; well conceived, well drawn. Fine the attitude of the prodigal, shamed and flung upon his father's love—fine the calm impassive inquiry of the servant standing behind! But the father is a failure. His head belongs to the conventional old man; in his face you read neither overflowing joy, nor pitying tenderness. The figure below, of the prodigal among the swine, is perhaps the best in the book.

The other plates are weak and commonplace. I have thus run through the plates, pausing to indicate defects with a severity and minuteness which, in general, no one thinks of demanding from notices of Illustrated Books. I have done so, because this work, sumptuous as a Gift Book, comes before me with serious claims to be considered a work of Art. A beautiful book it unquestionably is, and Franklin has surpassed himself in its designs; but when we cease to regard it as an elegance for the drawing-room, and look at the designs with reference to the deep import of the subjects, the feelings they arouse in every mind and the high qualities necessary for their true imaginative setting

forth, the standard of criticism necessarily becomes elevated. I sum up as I began, *The Parables of our Lord* is a superb Gift Book. VIVIAN.

HAYDN'S SEASONS.

The Sacred Harmonic Society commenced its winter performances on Friday, the 5th instant, with Haydn's last great composition, the *Seasons*. Every endeavour had been made to do justice to this work, which, though known disjointedly to all lovers of music, had only hitherto been executed by very small orchestras, or in the provinces after very insufficient rehearsal. For the first effective performance, therefore, of the *Seasons*, we are indebted to the Sacred Harmonic Society. We are the more anxious that the society should have full credit for this production, because it is its first attempt to emancipate itself from leading strings. We fancied the society intended for ever to proceed in the "safe" and beaten track, enriching its coffers without doing anything to warrant its position. Let it have, then, all the commendation it deserves for the production of Haydn's work, the success of which will, we trust, stimulate it to the production of compositions hitherto unknown or imperfectly rendered. The advance of musical taste is so considerable, that the curiosity of the musical public is now sufficient to indemnify the society for loss in the production of any work of mark and likelihood.

The *Seasons* was the last great work on which Haydn engaged; and, as a composition, it betrays the declining powers which he himself confessed. "I have done," he is reported to have said; "my head is no longer what it was. Formerly ideas came to me unsought. I am now obliged to seek for them, and for this I feel I am not formed." The subject of the *Seasons* is not a happy one. It is descriptive, not dramatic; and it abounds in recitative which, possessing little beauty of phrase, is given with that tedious, drawling enunciation by which English singers commonly mar the best efforts of a composer. The songs are also uninteresting and feeble. The whole beauty of the *Seasons*, as a musical composition, lies in the concerted pieces; and among these are to be found much genuine inspiration and some of the finest scoring which even Haydn ever wrote. The choruses, "Come, gentle Spring," "Hark the tempest," "Marvellous, Lord, are thy works," and "Hosannas to thy name, O Lord," will bear successful comparison with any choral writings we have.

The work opens with the change from winter to spring, wherein the labours of the husbandman and the beauty of the landscape are described; and, after an invocation for the blessing of Heaven, concludes with a magnificent Hymn of Praise. Summer opens with the rising of the sun, a feeble imitation of the same idea in the *Creation*. Then follows the burning heat of mid-day, a tempest, and the stillness and repose of night. Autumn introduces us to a bounteous harvest, the joys of the chase, and the revels of the ruddy vineyard. Winter, which depicts the happiness and amusements of the domestic circle, and in which there is an arch ballad with chorus, about a country girl who baffles an amorous squire by galloping away on his horse, concludes with a comparison between the seasons and the life of man, and a hymn full of contrapuntal fire and rich harmony. The orchestral writing throughout the work is admirable.

The Orchestra and Chorus displayed the magnificent training of Mr. Costa. Nothing could be finer than the manner in which the work was done. The principals had, as we have indicated, a difficult and rather ungracious task. They had not music that much could be made of, and they made as little of it as possible.

The *Seasons* is a work which will not bear frequent repetition. It would be decidedly unsafe to the treasury to produce it more than once in a season. Great compositions become popular with the people in proportion as they are dramatic. The *Messiah*, though undramatic in form, becomes so from the thorough acquaintance which all people have with the persons and the scenes, and the facility with which the mind in such a case overlooks the want of unity, and at once transports itself to the place of action. The rapid success of the *Elijah* is owing to its intensely dramatic form. It is worth while for writers, as well as for those who are entrusted with the production of works, especially sacred compositions, to consider that their success or failure with the public will depend on their possessing or wanting this essential feature.

In musical matters the English people can only be successfully treated as barbarians. The grada-

tions of music are RHYTHM, MELODY, HARMONY. The "tom-tom" and gong of the Indian savage, beaten in time and with a strong accent, form his first gradation in music. As he advances in civilization, we find a certain wild melody. Harmony is a science only to be found among the civilized. So children begin with Rhythm. A child will frequently beat its hands or feet perfectly in accordance with the music it hears, long before it has any notion of a melody. So again with the people. Marches and Polkas are among the most popular, because of their measured and strongly marked Rhythm; and with Rhythm and Melody the people stop. Harmony they hear in the mass; but of the parts of which it is composed they have no knowledge. It is the latter which makes a composition valuable to the amateur: it is the two former which lead the public to appreciate it.

Carry these ideas of Rhythm, Melody, and Harmony in connection with dramatic form, which includes them all, and it will be found that all chances of success may be measured by this standard. Where the dramatic form is present, even comparatively an inferior composition may become popular; but where it is absent, even though it were written with the pen of an angel, it will ere long be found only in the library of the student.

RISE AND FALL OF THE ORCHESTRAL SOCIETY.

A few weeks ago, we drew the attention of our readers to the formation of a society for the presentation of new and comparatively unknown works in the higher range of orchestral music. The list of the Orchestra which we gave at the time contained many of the most honoured names in the instrumental department of the profession; and we rejoiced, not only that such works were to be so produced, but that a love of the art had at length actuated its professors to this effort towards raising it in the eyes of the world. At the eleventh hour an advertisement appeared, indefinitely postponing the first concert. The reason will be found in the following

STATEMENT OF THE COUNCIL.

"St. Martin's-hall, Long-acre, Dec. 3, 1851.

"The Council of the Orchestral Society beg leave respectfully to lay before their Subscribers the following statement.

"The Orchestral Society is not a commercial speculation, set on foot by an individual or a company of whom the agents are paid servants; but strictly what its name implies—a Society formed with a special object, composed exclusively of persons fitted by their particular professional talents for the attainment of that object, and governed by a body of laws, an agreement to abide by which is an indispensable prelude to membership.

"The Society is not only a Society, but an Orchestra, the absence from which of any Member must be injurious, and of some, fatal to its interests.

"The Council, relying on the good faith and common sense of the Members, never contemplated the possibility of men voluntarily accepting posts, and then deserting them on the first occasion when their services were called into requisition.

"On Saturday morning, November 15, a Rehearsal for the first Concert was called at eleven o'clock; at that hour but forty-four Members were present, out of sixty-three summoned; which number, in the course of an hour, was increased to fifty-one; nineteen members being too late, and twelve not having presented themselves at all; two of these being performers on principal instruments, and having also accepted special duty as Solo performers. Of the proposed absence of these two gentlemen the Council had received previous intimation, with the names of the deputies they had proposed to send; and, in ordinary cases, the services of the latter might have been accepted, or the piece in which they were to take solo parts might have been changed. But, in the present instance the Council had undertaken—not that certain Orchestral Works should be performed at certain Concerts, in the best way that circumstances would permit; but that they should be performed by an Orchestra in which certain individuals should occupy certain responsible positions, and that the Subscribers would have just grounds for complaint on finding that the places of those individuals had been supplied by others, however eminent.

"The Council, therefore, decided on postponing the first Concert; and were even unanimously of opinion that, unless they could obtain from the Members some additional guarantee for carrying out the prospectus in its integrity, it would be better at once to dissolve the Society.

"The proposition that the Society be dissolved was met by the unanimously expressed wish of the Members that the Council would take further time to consider some means by which the Concerts could be permanently carried on; accordingly, having consulted together as to the best means of saving the Society, and at the same time keeping faith with the Subscribers, they proposed to the Members for signature a paper to the following effect:—'We, whose names are undersigned, undertake to assist personally as orchestral performers at eight Concerts, to be held at St. Martin's-hall, on alternate Monday evenings, commencing December 1, and we promise

not to accept any other professional engagement for any of the evenings named."

"This proposition, entirely in the spirit of the laws of the Society, having been submitted to the Members at a special meeting, and accepted by only eighteen out of sixty-five, the Council feel they are absolved from the responsibility of carrying on the Concerts further; and they prefer rather that the time, labour, and money, which they have devoted to the organization of the Society, shall be wasted, than that they should continue answerable for engagements which it has been proved they have no means of fulfilling.—By order of the Council, "ALFRED NICHOLSON, Hon. Sec."

It is in this way that attempts to raise the musical profession are frustrated. Ill-considered actions such as this have gained for the whole body that which is deserved only by the few: the reputation not alone of squabbling and jealous disagreement, but of being men whose word is not to be depended upon, whose actions are not trusted. It is the black sheep of the musical profession which make the profession to be regarded simply as a set of "twangling jacks" and ignorant mechanical scrapers. No profession can become respectable when its members are men not to be trusted, and are known to have as little respect for themselves as for the art they profess. We do not wish to apply these words to the men whose secession has caused the dissolution of the Orchestral Society. They may have reasons for the course they have adopted; but, in the absence of such reasons, the statement of the council would show the affair to have been a mere repetition of that which all who have had connection with musical societies have had frequent cause to lament. Such actions destroy the chances of raising the position of music, and cast a shadow upon the whole fraternity.

Organizations of the People, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.

TO THE CHARTISTS OF ENGLAND.

FRIENDS,—Having been informed portions of your body in various localities have nominated me again as a fit and proper person to act as one of your Executive for the ensuing year, and feeling confident that year will be one of unusual excitement, I have thought it prudent to lay before you briefly an outline of my views upon your past and future policy, in order that you may run no chance of electing a man whose views may possibly be antagonistic to your own; and to avoid the possibility (should I be one of the chosen) of having it said that I sought your suffrages while sailing under false colours. To be plain with you, therefore, I declare to you I have three positive objections to urge against the policy laid down by those who are, or who assume to be, your leaders:—

1. I disagree entirely with the proposition that your Executive should be reduced in number, or that that body should be paid.
2. I look upon the notion of working men ONLY being elected, not only as a childish idea, but believe in practice it would be a delusion and a snare.
3. I scout the idea of repudiating all men but those who belong solely to your movement, believing it to be undemocratic, absurd, and impolitic.

My reasons for my first dissent are briefly as follows:—A Convention was called together on whom devolved the duty of legislating for the movement, and which decided it should be regulated in its present mode; and until another Convention be called, and until that Convention decides to alter your constitution, it is the duty of all who call themselves Democrats to abide by the laws which their own representatives made; but further, I hold it to be a wise policy to have as large a number on your Executive as practicable, because, first, it insures a good average attendance; and, secondly, for the reason that all propositions having to be examined and sifted by a number of men who, naturally viewing each given circumstance from a different point of sight, will afford a security to your movement that no hasty or undigested measures shall ever again retard or jeopardize the onward march of Democracy. And as to the prudence or practicability of paying your Executive, really it is not only unnecessary, but in truth it is impracticable; and were it not, the money could be devoted to better purposes. It must be clear to those who do not scorn subtraction, addition, and multiplication, that to pay three, five, or nine men would consume weekly £6, £10, or £18, leaving unprovided for secretary, rent, printing, and lecturers. I say we do not want an Executive to live upon your energies and sacrifices, in the form and shape this plan would involve. I say if either of the above sums can be raised, let the money be expended in tracts and lectures, under the direction of a temperate, capable, and practical Executive; and you will do infinitely more to elevate and dignify the movement than a mint of money expended merely for the personal services and attendances of an Executive Committee of paid men.

I do not wish you to infer that I am opposed to the proper payment of those who labour for you, either on paper or on the platform—this is altogether a different question—but in this it is my deep conviction you will be better served, and your interests will be safer in the hands of volunteers who will serve the movement without any other hope of fee or reward save the approbation and testimony of a good conscience, than you would be if you delegate your authority to the same number of men who could not live unless they were paid by the movement for their services; not that men thus circumstanced would be necessarily dishonest, but the possession of office would be craved—and secured too—by the spouters and hangers on of the movement, who never have done anything but retard it,—whose antecedents are the shibboleths that keep hundreds of men from joining you—and who, even lately, have done their little all to drive from your councils that class of men who alone can save your movement from extinction.

In touching upon my second objection, I should like, without giving offence, still to make myself distinctly understood. Why do the rational scout hereditary legislation? Simply because we run the risk of having, as the case may be, a rogue, or an idiot, as often as a wise man, for a Legislator. This is precisely why, upon principle, I object to an absolute law being laid down, "that working men alone should form your Executive Committee." There is no innate virtue or talent in a "working man" above another man, and the results of the legislative operations of such a committee I fear, if probabilities are to be considered, would be anything but satisfactory. Let me ask, what chance to obtain the requisite knowledge has a man who has to toil from sunrise to sunset? It is my firm belief that, if one thousand men, artisans, mechanics, and labourers—who love their children and study their homes—were canvassed, you would not find three men who would, or could, undertake what you require an Executive Committee to perform; you would then be driven to the doubtful men whose characters, domestic or public, would not stand the light of Diogenes's lantern, or to those who some of you want to repudiate, namely, that class of men who are in a position that justifies them, for the love of their fellowmen, to meet the required demands on their intellect, their time, and their pockets.

One of your eloquent friends (who can use both tongue and pen, and who, if his ideas are carried out, must be "one of," or perhaps the only one with the required qualifications for, his Executive Committee) thus writes:—"Shall the movement proceed in the miserable way in which it has hitherto stagnated?" Now, this is not exactly the thing; it has the appearance of a dirty bird fouling its own nest; for was not the writer one of that very Executive that he accuses as the instrument of this stagnation? and (speaking from memory) he was one, too, whose attendance has not been more regular than that of other members; whose suggestions, practicable or impracticable, have not been more frequent than those of other members; and whose absences in the country, though professedly on Chartist business, have not had a tithe of the effect, and for the future will not realize a thousandth part of the value, to Democracy that will spring from the lecturing tours of another member of your Committee, whom he twits with being absent on other business. Your eloquent friend repudiates the services of men who have papers, and advises you not to elect a man who has counting-house business to attend to. If the latter cap is meant to fit me, thus I reply to it: That any men who rise from the ranks of labour by industry—who, amid their rising prosperity, have never turned their backs upon the toilers—who have the respect of a large number of working men—and who, in those sneered at counting-houses, communicate daily with more men capable of doing good service to the cause than certain other people (judging from the past) are ever likely to meet with in their lives—and who, by their practice and demeanour have given pledges for their sincerity—are worth shoals of your untried, theorizing, non-contributing, fault-finding, do-as-I-say-not-as-I-do declaimers.

I now will briefly touch upon the third objection I have to make against the absurdity—the madness of repudiating men who belong to other movements. I have heard of some men who, having but one idea themselves, have a strange fancy to make all the world subserve to it; and I have heard, too, of a certain Fox who, having lost his tail, endeavoured to persuade foxes with tails they would be better without theirs; but I never expected amongst a class of men who have studied, or who pretend to have studied, the aspects of political or social economy, to find any hardly enough to attempt its realization. I should like to know how many capable men you would have left in your movement if members of the following associations were ineligible to act as your officers—the Christian Socialist, the Anti-State Church, and Parliamentary Reform Associations, the Society for the Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge, and the Secular School Society; to say nothing about the plan proposed actually shutting out men who went for *five* points out of the *six*. How "beautifully less" would the sum total of efficient members soon be, were such a narrow and miserable policy foisted upon the so oft

deluded body to which you belong! For my own part, I tell you candidly, if you elect me, I shall join or act with any association I please; and if you do not like it, pray do not elect me. Further, I tell you it is high time you threw off the mental yoke of those eccentric councillors who have always reduced the real friends of progress to the necessity of serving your movement (if, indeed, it was to be served at all) in despite of yourselves and your loud-talking advocates. Your eloquent friend says, "The men elected ought to be tried, indubitable—real *bona fide* Chartists."

This is a sounding sort of sentence; but either means nothing, or else means more than some men would like if they crave to retain the helm of your affairs. Who is a tried man? not necessarily one who has been in prison. I think those who gave their mite to support men in prison have much more the appearance of tried men—I think more, and I hesitate not to tell you that it is my deliberate opinion, in nine cases out of every ten that fact should be a disqualification, because it evidences such men have neither the foresight, calmness, or discretion necessary to be possessed by the leaders of such a movement. I should be sorry were this opinion taken in a personal sense by any of the political sufferers; those of them who know me will feel that I would be the last man to say anything with the intention of wounding their feelings; what I wish to convey is merely this, that a man who has been a victim is not necessarily the man to be a Leader, unless he possesses a number of other qualifications, which if you do see in him, of course his past sufferings in your cause will always give him a superior claim to your respect and suffrages.

Your eloquent friend also says, "Elect men who can use both pen and tongue on platform or paper." I fancy many aspiring Chartists will feel this an utter disqualification for them, however worthy; while working men proper will hardly know how to conceive such a qualification to be at all harmonious with the suggestion of having none but their class on your Executive.

I say also, have none but tried men; but take care they are tried men; not forgetting also the time must come when *some* fresh men must be chosen, and that there is a time when all men are untried.

Weigh well, then, the qualities of the candidates before you make your choice; but when you have made it, be honest enough to support them; and if any whim or crochets should induce you not to do so, be candid enough to blame yourselves, not the men whom you decline to afford the necessary means to carry on your own cause. If you do this in sincerity, your new Executive will lay down their offices at the end of 1852, with Chartism advanced many stages towards its consummation; if not, Chartism will still continue to be viewed as a sort of political Frankenstein, to be made use of by your enemies whenever they want to filch another tax, or place some other yoke upon your necks. If you are wise, the Chartists will cease to be held up to scorn as a factious clique, opposed to everything and everybody; and Chartism will be viewed as a practical proposition emanating from, and being carried on by, practical men. All associations moving in parallel paths *must* and will apply to, and receive assistance from, your organization in achieving their objects, which, if good, however short they may be of your own, you should never withhold assistance from. Your movement would thus be the rallying-point of all others, and each one achieved would be just so much progress made towards the consummation of your own. At present the argument of your leaders is, literally, that all men are villains; that each step gained by any class or man makes that class or man enemies and tyrants over his fellow-man. In consequence your policy, instead of improvement or progression, is, in fact, retrogression. Were you successful in carrying it out, its fulfilment would be anarchy, and every man's hand would be against his neighbour. Instead of ample work, more food, and more comfort, your policy, in effect, is, no work, less food, and starvation, on the false presumption that, if a man has a full belly, he *must* be an aristocrat of full bellies, and contribute his quota to keep his fellow-creatures in their present degraded position. These assumptions are false and scandalous libels upon our common humanity, and should be scouted by you as the ravings of madmen.

Your policy should be to make Chartism attractive and loveable, that the unenfranchised may revere it as a means of deliverance, and look forward to its realization with hope. That you will adopt this policy is my earnest hope; and if, after this expression of my sentiments, you think it well to elect me, I shall do as I always have endeavoured to do—serve the cause of Progress to the utmost of my power and ability. I remain, yours faithfully,

ROBERT LE BLOND.

PIMLICO WORKING BUILDERS.

The Pimlico Working Builders gave a very agreeable entertainment at the Clarendon Hotel, in Pimlico, on Tuesday evening. The immediate object of the dinner was to mark the sense which the Association entertained of the liberality that had been shown to

it by Mr. Bishop, the landlord of the hotel, in granting the use of his rooms, and other services, when the members were struggling with difficulties. The Association is now in a flourishing condition, and is about to remove to a building of its own construction. Sixty or seventy persons sat down to table; the members of the Association themselves numbering about fifty. Amongst the company were Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Furnivall, and other gentlemen of the Christian Socialist circle. Mr. Vansittart Neale took the chair. After dinner several interesting speeches were delivered.

Lord Goderich, who responded to the toast of "The Promoters," took the occasion to claim the sympathy of English associators for their brethren in Paris, whose associations have been closed by the arbitrary power of the President: an appeal heartily responded to by the company.

In returning thanks for the Pimlico Working Builders, Mr. Nottage entered into a rapid historical survey of the Association—its difficulties, its brotherly feeling, the frankness of its officers and managers, its ultimate successes, with an untutored eloquence, graphic and impressive.

Mr. Lloyd Jones described the progress that had been made, not only in establishing coöperative stores and productive associations, but in promoting a more practical intercourse between the several coöperative bodies. The factories of Bacup and Padiham have before them the prospect of an increasing field through the activity of the central agency which Mr. Lloyd Jones has done so much to render efficient in its provincial working. It was stated in the course of the evening that most of the builders present stood in shoe leather manufactured by the Working Shoemakers' Association in Tottenham-court-road. Speeches were also delivered by Mr. Jennings, the manager, by Mr. Thornton Hunt, Mr. Stevens, Mr. Bishop, and Mr. Walford.

HALIFAX WORKING MAN'S COÖPERATIVE SOCIETY.

We have received the Second Half-yearly Report of the Halifax Working Man's Coöperative Society, and are happy to find that the progress made during the last six months is of a highly satisfactory character; the balance in the treasurer's hands being £83. 10s. 9d.; that on the assets and liabilities being £34. 13s. 10d.; and that on profit and loss, £31. 4s. 10d., in favour of the Society. On this the Board of Management observe:—

"Your attention will doubtless be attracted to the small amount of profits, both gross and net, which is shown in the balance sheet. The Board have, however, to remind you that every advantage has been thrown on the side of the purchaser, that none whatever of the usual tricks of trade have been resorted to; that the profits have been of the lowest shade, and in some articles not even nominal, while markets of the first character only have been sought. They are aware that, by having recourse to the usual modes of conducting business, a more favourable balance sheet could have been produced; and it remains for you, at your general meeting, to determine to what extent any questionable practices shall be adopted, or the present mode, with such improvements as experience must suggest, shall be continued."

There has been a considerable accession of members during the past half year, the present number being 276. We are glad to find from the following paragraph that the board have commenced a system of mutual relations with other coöperative bodies; the best means of practically aiding the coöperative cause, and of strengthening the hands of those engaged in its furtherance.

With respect to promoting generally the cause of coöperative association, another object for which your society was established—the Board may briefly inform you that that principle has never been lost sight of. In addition to the Central Agency in London, and the Branch Society in Manchester, accounts have been opened with the Whit-lane Weaving Company, the Salford Hatters, the Bacup Joint-Stock Company, the Bradford Society, the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers, and the Garden-lane Weaving Company.

There is one passage in the Report, however, which we are forced to attribute to an oversight on the part of its compilers. We quote it below, and while we cordially concur in praising the honest and persevering energy exerted in favour of coöperation by the conductors of the publication in question, we do not think it fair to speak of it as the "only organ" devoted to that movement, any more than we should to claim the honour of its exclusive advocacy for the *Leader*.

"The Board having had brought before them the duty of societies such as ours, to exert themselves in extending the sale and influence of the *Christian Socialist*—the only organ of the Coöperative cause, and hitherto published at a weekly loss to its benevolent proprietors, resolved to have it introduced as an article of sale; and, for the last few weeks, it has been regularly supplied by its London publisher."

THE NATIONAL CHARTER ASSOCIATION.—The Executive met on Wednesday, a deal of correspondence was read, and financial business disposed of. A long letter from Mr. Harney was also read, for which we have no room this week. Mr. R. Cooper, Mr. Swift, Mr. Stallwood, and Mr. Ollerenshaw decline to serve. *Instructions for Voting.*—Every member holding a card for the present year is entitled to vote for nine persons from the list. Where localities exist, it is requested that special meetings be called for the purpose of taking the votes, and all members are desired to write the names of the nine for whom they intend to vote, on a piece of paper, and place the same in a ballot-box, or other convenient receptacle. It is also requested that scrutineers be ap-

pointed to inspect the votes, who shall record the number of votes polled for each candidate; and the list, having been duly attested by them and the chairman, be forwarded by the sub-secretary to the office, addressed to John Arnott, on or before Tuesday, December 30, as all votes received after that date will be null and void. Members residing at a distance from the localities can send their votes addressed to the general secretary as above. N.B. Every member is called on and expected to take part in the election.—Signed on behalf of the Committee, JOHN ARNOTT, General Secretary.

EUROPEAN LETTERS.—Mr. James Brontë O'Brien has announced Letters and Tracts, which will embrace the entire range of political, moral, and social science, and treat of the fallacies and misrepresentations of historians, publicists, economists, politicians, and party leaders; of international rights and duties (including the solidarity of peoples); of parliamentary and municipal franchises; of real democracy and local government (as opposed to class legislation and centralization under forms of spurious republicanism and constitutional monarchy); of social rights as distinguished from social systems; of the home and foreign affairs of the day; and of the institution, objects, and prospects of the National Reform League, in relation to agrarian, monetary, and commercial reform. The Letters are to appear weekly.

REDEMPTION SOCIETY.—We have added the tailoring business to our Coöperative Store this week. Two of our members, shoemakers, go to the community on Saturday, December 13, to make shoes, &c., expressly for the store in Leeds. Moneys received for the week:—Leeds, £1. 10s. 3d.; Liverpool, per Mr. Sandys, 8s. 4d.; Longton, per Mr. Riley, 1s. 6d.; Etruria, per Mr. Wilbraham, 7s. 6d. Building Fund:—Liverpool, 1s. Propagandist fund, 10s. 1d.—J. HENDERSON, Secretary.



Open Council.

[IN THIS DEPARTMENT, AS ALL OPINIONS, HOWEVER EXTREME, ARE ALLOWED AN EXPRESSION, THE EDITOR NECESSARILY HOLDS HIMSELF RESPONSIBLE FOR NONE.]

There is no learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading controversies, his senses awakened, and his judgment sharpened. If, then, it be profitable for him to read, why should it not, at least, be tolerable for his adversary to write.—MILTON.

INTERNATIONAL MONEY-ORDER OFFICE.

December 8, 1851.

SIR,—An excellent suggestion has appeared, from a correspondent of the *Times*, for an International Money-order Office between America and England. This is so valuable that I ask you to give currency to it in your paper, with these further remarks, that there would be but a very small commission requisite; for each Government would retain all that it received, except the balance, just as merchants do in equalizing their exchanges. A very small per centage upon the whole sum paid in on each side would pay very amply; and, if it did not, as an important individual convenience it would be a great national benefit; but it would.

Though the poorest of the Irish who go over remit largely to their relatives, their remittances would be equalized by the number of those who would take their money over in governmental orders from this country, instead of taking it in actual cash and incurring the risk of the seas.

All the wealth of every state proceeds from the activity of those who labour; and whatever gives currency to that labour—transferring it from where it is least wanted to where it is most needed—benefits both countries; for every man carries with him his wants, as well as the means, through his labour or money (hoarded labour), of supplying the wants of others.

The time will come, I trust, when society will see it is worth its while to promote locomotion by providing it gratuitously, or, if not gratuitously, at the smallest possible cost.

It is by the agency of man that God's purposes in relation to man in this world are carried into action; and man always acts best, and produces most fruit, when he is able to choose his own field of action.

Neither the land nor the other elements are of value without man to apply them. As to the land, this is palpable.

In America, for instance, which now exchanges so many millions per annum with us, and thus adds to the wealth of thousands and the enjoyment and comfort of millions. Land might have been had a century ago for half-a-crown an acre, or even for squatting upon it; yet now, by the mere transitions of men

from Europe to cultivate, America sends back the fruits of the earth to clothe and feed and make happy the masses of Europe receiving those same blessings in return.

We shall yet see that it is desirable to teach the people to enlarge their narrow home feelings, and to seek that country and government where they find that most good may be done for themselves, their families, and their fellow-men.

How grateful would be the reflection, if we could trace the blessings we now enjoy, through commerce and intercourse with that country to voluntary and peaceful efforts and forthright, instead of being obliged to remember that it was by persecution, and depriving them of their religious liberty, that our forefathers were driven from us in the Mayflower; and that as to Virginia, to which we used to send out transports, it has been the head quarters of slavery and still continues so. How grateful ought we to be, that out of seeming evil God is ever educating good! A money-order office would also tend, and probably shortly lead, to the adoption of one of those great wants of civilized nations, the unity of monetary denominations and accounts, and thence to unity of weights and measures.

The English and American languages bid fair to be the language of the world. The extent of the commerce of the two countries, the energy of the two peoples, their common sympathies arising from their common language, are all in favour of this; and the time should be hailed by all, when we shall repair the damage done to us by those who are said to have planned, but could not build, the Tower of Babel.

EDWARD SEARCH.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

SATURDAY.

Consols have not been seriously disturbed this week. On Monday they closed at 97½, on Tuesday at 97½, on Wednesday and Thursday at 97½. Yesterday the closing price was—Consols, 98, good market.

The fluctuations have been:—Consols, from 97½ to 98; Bank Stock, from 214½ to 215½; and Exchequer Bills, from 47s. to 51s. premium.

The French Rentes closed on Saturday at 96½, being an advance of near 7 per cent.; but the rise was suspected in the City. It has, however, been maintained. Business correspondence states that the commercial men of France desire a military government as the only guarantee of order. Yesterday, Foreign Stocks stood as follows:—Portuguese Four per Cents., 34, 32½, and 32; Mexican, for money, 25½; for the account, 25½, 24, and 4; Brazilian Small, 95 and 94; Peruvian Deferred, 45½; Sardinian Five per Cents., 82; Spanish Five per Cents., for account, 20½, 1, and 1; Spanish Three per Cents., 39½ and 40; the Three per Cent. New Deferred, 16½; Austrian, 71; Belgian Four-and-a-Half per Cents., 89; Dutch Two-and-a-Half per Cents., 58½ and 2; and the Four per Cent. Certificates, 85½ and 2.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 22 for the week ending on Saturday, December 6, 1851.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

Notes issued	29,902,930	Government Debt, 11,915,100
		Other Securities, 2,984,900
		Gold Coin and Bullion, 15,869,555
		Silver Bullion, 33,775
	£29,902,930	£29,902,930

BANKING DEPARTMENT.

Proprietors' Capital, 14,558,000	Government Securities (including Dead-weight Annuity), 13,241,708
Reserve, 3,126,495	Other Securities, 11,547,043
Public Deposits (including Exchequer, Savings Banks, Commissioners of National Debt, and Dividend Accounts), 8,077,344	Notes, 11,048,425
Other Deposits, 9,539,188	Gold and Silver Coin, 615,654
Seven-day and other Bills, 1,156,863	
	£36,452,890
	£36,452,890

Dated December 11, 1851. M. MARSHALL, Chief Cashier.

SHARES.

Last Official Quotation for Week ending Friday Evening.

RAILWAYS.	BANKS.
Aberdeen 19½	Australasian 48
Bristol and Exeter .. 80½	British North American .. 25½
Caledonian 14½	Colonial 25½
Eastern Counties .. 6½	Commercial of London .. 30½
Edinburgh and Glasgow .. 27	London and Westminster .. 30
Great Northern .. 17	London Joint Stock .. 18½
Great S. & W. (Ireland) .. 35½	National of Ireland .. 21
Great Western .. 83	National Provincial .. 41
Lancashire and Yorkshire .. 54½	Provincial of Ireland .. 35½
Lancaster and Carlisle .. —	Union of London .. 14½
London, Brighton, & S. Coast .. 94½	
London and Blackwall .. 7	
London and N.-Western .. 114	Bolton 21
Midland 53	Brazilian Imperial .. 19
North British .. 64	Ditto, St. John del Rey .. 34½
South-Eastern and Dover .. —	Cobre Copper 27½
South-Western 109	
York, Newcastle, & Berwick .. 19½	MISCELLANEOUS.
York and North Midland .. 22½	Australian Agricultural .. 15
	Canada 49½
	General Steam 27½
	Penins. & Oriental Steam .. 67½
	Royal Mail Steam .. 83½
	South Australian .. 29
East and West India .. 142	
London 116	
St. Katharine 79	

APPLICATIONS OF GUTTA PERCHA.

DOMESTIC, &c.—Soles for Boots and Shoes, Lining for Cisterns, &c., Picture Frames, Looking-glass Frames, Ornamental Mouldings, Bowls, Drinking Cups, Jars, Soap Dishes, Vases, Ornamental Ink-stands, Noiseless Curtain Rings, Card, Fruit, Pin, and Pen Trays, Tooth-brush Trays, Shaving-brush Trays, Window-blind Cord, Clothes' Line, Drain and Soil Pipes, Tubing for Watering Gardens, &c., Lining for Bonnets, Watch Stands, Shells, and Lighter Stands. SURGICAL—Splints, Thin Sheet for Bandages, Stethoscopes, Ear Trumpets, Bed Straps, and Bedpans for Invalids. CHEMICAL—Carboys, Vessels for Acids, &c., Siphons, Tubing for conveying Oils, Acids, Alkalis, &c., Flasks, Bottles, Lining for Tanks and Funnels. MANUFACTURING—Buckets, Mill Bands, Pump Buckets, Felt Edging, Bosses, Shuttle Beds, Washers, Round Bands and Cord, Breasts for Water-Wheels. FOR OFFICES, &c.—Washer Holders, Ink-stands, Ink-cups, Pen Trays, Cash Bowls, Washing Basins, &c., Tubes for Conveying Messages, Canvas for covering Books, &c., and Plan Cases. AGRICULTURAL—Tubing for Liquid Manure, Lining for Manure Tanks, Traces, and Whips. ELECTRICAL—&c.—Covering for Electric Telegraph Wire, Insulating Stools, Battery Cells, and Electrotypes Moulds. ORNAMENTAL—Medallions, Brackets, Cornices, Mouldings in imitation of Carved Oak, Rosewood, &c., and Picture Frames. USES ON SHIPBOARD—Life Buoy, Buckets, Pump Buckets, Hand Speaking Trumpets, Drinking Cups, Waterproof Canvas, Life Boat Cells, Tubes for Pumping Water from the Hold to the Deck, Round and Tapered Cord, Lining for Boxes. MISCELLANEOUS—Suction Pipes for Fire Engines, Buckets, Communication Trays, Tubing for Ventilation, Hearing Apparatus for Deaf Persons, Balls, Police Staves, Life Preservers, Railway Conversation Tubes, Miners Caps, Thread, &c., Official Seals, &c., Powder Flasks, &c., &c. The Gutta Percha Company, Patentees 18, Wharf-road, City-road.

DR. CULVERWELL ON NERVOUSNESS, DEBILITY, AND INDIGESTION: also on Urinary Derangements, Constipation, and Hemorrhoids. 1s. each; by post, 1s. 6d.

WHAT TO EAT, DRINK, AND AVOID.

"Abstinentia multi curantur morbi."
A popular exposition of the principal causes (over an. careless feeding, &c.) of the above harassing and distressing complaints, with an equally intelligible and popular exposition of how we should live to get rid of them; to which is added diet tables for every meal in the day, and full instructions for the regimen and observance of every hour out of the twenty-four: illustrated by numerous cases, &c.

Vol. 2, and 3, companions to the preceding.
THE ENJOYMENT OF LIFE. | HOW TO BE HAPPY.

"Jucunde Vivere."
IV.

ON URINARY DISORDERS, CONSTIPATION, AND HÆMORRHOIDS; their Obviation and Removal.
Sherwood, 23, Paternoster-row; Mann, 39, Cornhill; and the Author, 10, Argyl-place, Regent-street: consultation hours, ten to twelve; evenings, seven till nine.

EFFECTUALLY CURED WITHOUT A TRUSS!

DR. BARKER continues to supply the afflicted with his celebrated remedy for this alarming complaint, the great success of which for many years past renders any further comment unnecessary. It is easy and painless in use, causing no inconvenience or confinement, and is applicable to every variety of single or double rupture, however bad or long-standing, in male or female of any age. The remedy, with full instructions for use, &c., will be sent post free to any part of the world on receipt of 7s., in cash, postage stamps, or Post-office Order, payable at the General Post-office, to ALFRED BARKER, M.D., 48, Liverpool-street, King's-cross, London, where he may be consulted daily from Nine till Three o'clock (Sundays excepted). All communications being strictly confidential, Dr. B. does not publish cases or testimonials, a great number of which, with old trusses, have been sent to him by persons cured, as trophies of the success of this remedy; they can, therefore, be seen by any sufferer at the establishment.

DEAFNESS, NOISES IN THE HEAD, EARS, &c.—Dr. Barker's remedy permanently restores hearing in infants or adults, whether deficient from cold, illness, or any accidental causes; and has been successful in thousands of cases, where the most eminent of the Profession have failed in giving relief. It removes all those distressing noises in the head and ears, arising from nervousness, deafness, or other causes, and by its occasional use, will preserve the important faculty of hearing to the latest period of life. In every case of deafness, &c. (without an exception), a perfect cure is guaranteed. The remedy, with full instructions for use, &c., will be sent post free to any part of the world, on receipt of 7s., in cash, postage stamps, or Post-office Order, payable at the General Post-office, to ALFRED BARKER, M.D., 48, Liverpool-street, King's-cross, London, where he may be consulted daily from Nine till Three o'clock (Sundays excepted).

A NEW MEDICINE.

FRANKS'S SPECIFIC CAPSULE—A form of Medicine at once safe, sure, speedy, and pleasant, especially applicable to urethral morbid secretions, and other ailments for which copious and cubeb are commonly administered. Each Capsule containing the Specific is made of the purest Gelatine, which, enclosed in tinfoil, may be conveniently carried in the pocket, and, being both elastic and pleasant to take, affords the greatest facility for repeating the doses without intermission—a desideratum to persons travelling, visiting, or engaged in business, as well as to those who object to fluid medicines, being unobjectionable to the most susceptible stomach.

Prepared only by GEORGE FRANKS, Surgeon, at his Laboratory, 90, Blackfriars-road, London, where they may be had, and of all Medicine Vendors, in boxes, at 2s. 9d. and 4s. 6d. each, or sent free by post at 2s. and 3s. each. Of whom, also, may be had, in bottles, at 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d., and 11s. each.

FRANKS'S SPECIFIC SOLUTION OF COPAIBA.

TESTIMONIALS.
From Joseph Henry Green, Esq., F.R.S., President of the Royal College of Surgeons, London; Senior Surgeon to St. Thomas's Hospital; and Professor of Surgery in King's College, London.

"I have made trial of Mr. Franks's Solution of Copaiba, at St. Thomas's Hospital, in a variety of cases, and the results warrant my stating, that it is an efficacious remedy, and one which does not produce the usual unpleasant effects of Copaiba."
(Signed) "JOSEPH HENRY GREEN."

"Lincoln's Inn Fields, April 15, 1835."
From Bransby Cooper, Esq., F.R.S., one of the Council of the Royal College of Surgeons, London; Senior Surgeon to Guy's Hospital; and Lecturer on Anatomy, &c.

"Mr. Bransby Cooper presents his compliments to Mr. George Franks, and has great pleasure in bearing testimony to the efficacy of his Solution of Copaiba. Mr. Cooper has prescribed the Solution in ten or twelve cases with perfect success."
"New-street, April 13, 1835."

"These medicines are protected against counterfeits by the Government Stamp—on which is engraven "GEORGE FRANKS, Blackfriars-road"—being attached to each."

A SPEEDY CURE FOR STONE AND GRAVEL.

WILL be sent to any person, by enclosing thirteen Stamps to THOMAS WILKINSON, Land Agent, Gainsborough, Lincolnshire.

DO YOU WANT LUXURIANT AND BEAUTIFUL HAIR, WHISKERS, &c?

MANY Preparations for the Hair have been introduced to the public, but none have gained such a world-wide celebrity and immense sale as Miss DEAN'S CRINILENE. It is guaranteed to produce "Whiskers, Moustachios, Eyebrows, &c., in three or four weeks, with the utmost certainty; and will be found eminently successful in nourishing, curling, and beautifying the Hair, checking greyness in all its stages, strengthening weak Hair, preventing its falling off, &c., &c. For the reproduction of Hair in Baldness, from whatever cause, and at whatever age, it stands unrivalled, never having failed. One trial only is solicited to prove the fact. It is an elegantly scented preparation, and sufficient for three months' use will be sent (post free) on receipt of twenty-four postage stamps, by Miss Dean, 48, Liverpool-street, King's-cross, London.

For Children it is indispensable, forming the basis of a beautiful head of hair.

AUTHENTIC TESTIMONIALS.—"I constantly use your Criniline for my children. It restored my hair perfectly."—Mrs. Long, Hitchin, Herts. "I have now to complain of the trouble of shaving; thanks to your Criniline."—Mr. Grey, Eaton-square, Chelsea. Professor Ure, on analyzing the Criniline, says—"It is perfectly free from any injurious colouring or other matter, and the best stimulus for the hair I have met with. The scent is delicate and very persistent."

CURE YOUR CORNS AND BUNIONS.

Those who wish to walk with perfect ease will find Miss DEAN'S ABSORBENT the only radical Cure for Corns and Bunions. It is guaranteed to cure them in three days, without cutting or pain. One trial is earnestly solicited by all suffering from such troubles.

Sent post-free, on receipt of Fourteen Postage Stamps, by Miss Dean, 48, Liverpool-street, King's-cross, London.

THE ROAD TO HEALTH!

HOLLOWAY'S PILLS.—Cure of a Disordered Liver and Bad Digestion.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. R. W. Kirkus, Chemist, 7, Prescott-street, Liverpool, dated June 6, 1851.

"To Professor HOLLOWAY, Sir.—Your Pills and Ointment have stood the highest on our sale list of Proprietary Medicines for some years. A customer, to whom I can refer for any inquiries, desires me to let you know the particulars of her case. She had been troubled for years with a disordered liver and bad digestion. On the last occasion, however, the virulence of the attack was so alarming, and the inflammation set in so severely, that doubts were entertained of her not being able to bear up under it; fortunately she was induced to try your Pills, and she informs me that after the first, and each succeeding dose, she had great relief. She continued to take them, and although she used only three Boxes, she is now in the enjoyment of perfect health. I could have sent you many more cases, but the above, from the severity of the attack, and the speedy cure, I think, speaks much in favour of your astonishing Pills."
(Signed) R. W. KIRKUS."

WONDERFUL EFFICACY OF HOLLOWAY'S PILLS IN CASES OF DROPSY.—Persons suffering from Dropsy, either about the turn of life or at other times, should immediately have recourse to these Pills, as hundreds of persons are annually cured by their use of this direful complaint in its different stages, when all other means had failed.

Sold at the Establishment of Professor HOLLOWAY, 241, Strand (near Temple Bar), London, and by all respectable Druggists and Dealers in Medicine throughout the civilized world, at the following prices—1s. 14d., 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d., 7s. 11s., 12s., and 15s. Each Box, 2s. 9d. The above prices are for the smaller sizes. N.B.—Directions for the guidance of Patients in every Disorder are affixed to each Box.

RUPTURES EFFECTUALLY CURED WITHOUT A TRUSS.

CAUTION.—Sufferers are cautioned against useless imitations, by a self-styled doctor who copies this announcement, and who also professes to cure deafness, with various other wonderful feats; and to render the abominable deception more complete, conceals "testimonials" as glaringly truthless as they are numerous. The utter fallacy of these may, however, be easily detected by writing to the pretended authors, whom it will be found have existence only in the imagination.

Dr. WALTER DE ROOS continues to supply the afflicted with his celebrated remedy for this alarming complaint, the great success of which for many years past, renders comment unnecessary. It is easy and painless in use, causing no inconvenience and confinement, and is equally applicable to every variety of rupture, however bad or long standing, in male or female of any age. The remedy, with full instructions for use, will be sent post-free to any part of the kingdom, on receipt of 7s. in cash, or by post-office order, payable at the Holborn-office, to Walter De Roos, M.D., 35, Ely-place, Holborn, London, where he may be consulted daily from Ten till One; and Five till Eight (Sundays excepted). A great number of testimonials and trusses (which may be seen), have been left behind by persons cured, as trophies of the immense success of this remedy.

AUTHENTIC TESTIMONIALS, to prove the accuracy of which inquiry is solicited of the writers themselves, whose addresses are given in full—a test which other advertisements of this class cannot stand.—B. Haworth, Esq., Hull Bank, Hull: "I feel great pleasure in adding my testimony to Dr. Roos's remedy for rupture, which has effectually cured mine." Mr. Samuel Stocker, timber merchant, Clewer-fields, Windsor, Berks: "I was cured last summer by your invaluable remedy, and have not found the least inconvenience since." Mr. Robert Rogers, Staveley, Derbyshire: "My baby, I am happy to say, thanks to your excellent remedy, is quite well." Mr. James Chessum, Skevehouse: "By the blessing of God, the worst case of ten years' standing is perfectly cured by your remedy." Mr. Sapoteo, Market-Weighton: "I am glad to tell you that I am quite cured by your remedy; and so is the little boy who was ruptured on both sides,—thanks to you, Sir."

"A respected correspondent desires to call the attention of such of our readers as are his fellow-sufferers to an announcement in our advertising columns, emanating from Dr. De Roos, the eminent physician of London. Of this gentleman's ability in treating ruptures, our correspondent speaks in the highest terms, having availed himself of the same, and thereby tested the superiority of his method of treatment over every other extant, all of which he has tried to no purpose. He feels assured that whoever is so afflicted will find a cure by paying Dr. De Roos a visit, his method being, as our correspondent believes, beyond improvement."—The above appeared in the *Times* of Saturday, September 29, 1849. The gentleman alluded to is F. Graham, Esq., an intimate friend of the editor's, who may be referred to.

N. B. Should sufferers think proper to address either or all of the above, they will of course enclose two postage stamps for a reply.

WALTER DE ROOS, M.D., No. 35, Ely-place, Holborn-hill, London.

BLAIR'S GOUT and RHEUMATIC PILLS.

The following testimonial is another proof of the great efficacy of this medicine:—

"157, New Bond-street, London, October 12, 1850.

"Sir,—In acquainting you with the great benefit which I have experienced by taking Blair's Gout and Rheumatic Pills, I feel that I am but performing a duty to that portion of the public who may be similarly afflicted. About twenty years since I was first attacked by Rheumatic Gout in my hands and feet. I had previously been subjected to every variety of climate, having served in Canada in the 11th Dragoons, and in India, under Sir John Moore, in the 18th Hussars. I always procured the best medical aid, but without obtaining any essential relief, and my sufferings can be appreciated only by those who know something of this disease. It was during one of those paroxysms, between twelve and thirteen years ago, that I was recommended to take Blair's Pills. I lost no time in procuring a box, and before I had taken that quantity the pain had entirely ceased, and in a few days I was in perfect health. From that moment, whenever I feel any symptoms of the disease approaching, I have instant recourse to this medicine, which to me is so valuable that, were it not that the days of magic have ceased, I should certainly attribute the relief I obtain to that cause. Moreover, I rejoice to say that my health has not in any degree suffered; but, on the contrary, I believe the tendency of Blair's Pills is towards its improvement. I have recommended the pills to many friends, and the result has always been of the most gratifying character. I am, Sir, yours respectfully, GABRIEL FOSTER GILL. To Mr. Prout, 229, Strand."

For every description of Gout or Rheumatism, Sciatica, Tic Douloureux, &c., BLAIR'S GOUT and RHEUMATIC PILLS are a sovereign remedy, contain neither mercury, opium, nor any other dangerous drug, require no care whatever in their use, and for rapidity of cure and complete safety have not their equal in the world.—Sold by Thomas Prout, 229, Strand, London, price 2s. 9d. per box, and by most respectable Medicine Vendors. Observe the name and address of "Thomas Prout, 229, Strand, London," in the Government stamp.

PILES! A positive cure is now placed in

the reach of every sufferer from this distressing and truly disagreeable affliction by the use of Dr. COOPER'S infallible but perfectly simple remedy, which may be used without the least inconvenience or danger, by patients of both sexes and all ages, with the utmost certainty of success; and by it Dr. C. will guarantee instant relief and permanent cure for the most aggravated cases of either blind or bleeding piles. Dr. COOPER, Professor of Medicine and Physician Extraordinary to the Eastern Counties Royal Medical Institution, has 15 years' experience of the efficacy of this remedy, having during that period applied it in some hundreds of inveterate cases weekly, both in private practice and in various Hospitals in England, on the Continent, and in America, and can positively assert that it has never failed in a single case, therefore, he with confidence offers it to the public, and will send it post-free to any part of the kingdom upon receipt of Post-office Order for 7s. 6d., payable at the Colchester Office, and addressed to ALFRED COOPER, M.D., High-street, Colchester, Essex.

N. B.—In every case Dr. C. guarantees a certain cure for the above sum, his only motive for making this public announcement being purely for the benefit of suffering humanity.

PAINS IN THE BACK, GRAVEL, LUMBAGO,

Rheumatism, Gout, Indigestion, Nervousness, Debility, Stricture, Gleet, &c. &c.—DR. DE ROOS'S COMPOUND RENAL PILLS, as their name, Renal (or the kidneys), indicates, have in many instances effected a cure when all other means had failed, and are now established, by the consent of every patient who has yet tried them, as also by the faculty themselves, as the most safe and efficacious remedy ever discovered for the more dangerous complaints, discharges of any kind, retention of urine, and diseases of the kidneys and urinary organs generally, whether resulting from imprudence or otherwise, which, if neglected, frequently end in piles, fistula, stone in the bladder, and a lingering death. For gout, sciatica, rheumatism, tic douloureux, erysipelas, erythema, dropsy, scrofula, indigestion, depression of spirits, blushing, incapacity for society, study, or business, confusion, giddiness, drowsiness, sleep without refreshment, fear, nervousness, and even insanity itself, when (as is often the case) arising from or combined with urinary diseases, they are unequalled. By their salutary action on acidity of the stomach they correct bile and indigestion, purify and promote the renal secretions, thereby preventing the formation of stone, and establishing for life the healthy functions of all these organs. ONE TRIAL will convince the most prejudiced of their surprising properties. May be obtained at 1s. 14d., 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d., 7s. 11s., and 15s. per box, through all Medicine Vendors in the Kingdom; or should any difficulty occur, they will be sent free on receipt of the price in postage stamps by Dr. De Roos. N.B. A considerable saving effected by purchasing the larger boxes.

CAUTION.—A self-styled ten-shilling doctor (unblushing impudence being his only qualification) is advertising, under a different name, a highly injurious imitation of these Pills, and a useless abbreviated copy of Dr. De Roos's celebrated "Medical Adviser," slightly changing its title; sufferers will, therefore, do well to see that the stamp, bearing his name, affixed to each box is a "bona fide Government stamp" (not a base counterfeit), and to guard against the truthless statements of this individual, which are published only for the basest purposes of deception on invalids and fraud on the Proprietor.

TO PREVENT FRAUD on the Public by imitations of the above excellent remedy, her Majesty's Honourable Commissioners of Stamps have directed the name of the Proprietor, in white letters on a red ground, to be engraved on the Government Stamp affixed to all his Medicines, without which none is genuine, and to imitate which too closely is forgery and transportation.

AUTHENTIC TESTIMONIALS.
"Abersychan, Pontypool, May 2, 1850. Dear Sir,—After taking a box of your Renal Pills, I am so much better that I am induced to send for another, as I want to drive the pain quite away.—I remain, yours respectfully, John Andrews."—Furnes, June 26, 1850. Dear Sir,—Please forward a 4s. 6d. box of your Renal Pills; they are the only medicine I have met with that have been of service.—Yours, &c., Milton Welch." "Limekiln-street, Dover. Sir,—Please to send a few more of your wonderful Pills. My wife has nearly taken all you sent before, and feels great relief already.—T. Bloom." "4, Market-street, Manchester. Your medicines are very highly spoken of by all who have purchased them of me.—Yours truly, George Westmacott."

One person informs Mr. Smith, *Times* Office, Leeds, that these celebrated Pills are worth a guinea a box.

N.B. Persons wishing to consult the doctor by letter may do so by sending a detail of the symptoms, &c., with the usual fee of 21s., by post-office order, payable at the Holborn Office, for which the necessary medicines and advice will be sent to any part of the world.

Address, WALTER DE ROOS, M.D., 35, Ely-place, Holborn-hill, London, where he may be consulted from 10 till 1, and 5 till 8, Sunday excepted, unless by previous arrangement.

The above are obtainable through every Druggist in the Kingdom; but, should difficulty occur, enclose postage stamps to the establishment.

TRAFFIC

Every day Loans granted Detailed list of nearly seven hundred applications on application Parties de requested to By

ENGLAND

Branch Office Street, St. Giles'-street, Policies in "Disease" rates, Annuities terms. Claims paid Profits divided

THE MUTUAL

place, Black the principle

Quar

Jefferson

Chairman—

M. P. John Carter Francis Ed David Ferg Thomas Ho Benjamin H Daniel Mc William N Peckha Charles S

Arch

R. W. T Daniel Ho

Assurance

Age; Endo Assurance Policies in All the P Prospect

Acti

already app

NAT

Incorpor With

John Hind

William A

William G

Stephen B William C John Cropp Joseph D Wellington John Pool William A

James

Henry W

Henry Lett

William A

Thom

Edw

Henry An

The Dis business is formed a every syst extensive class of A hitherto b

The say

admirably midding able to the people of

Classes.

Nineper will secured 25 m

One Sh

son of the 60, or the before at

Should

of his Pr but will b to charge

Should

rance, the he will b amount, fr

from Any

for Child the Secre Bank, or

TRAFALGAR LIFE ASSURANCE ASSOCIATION.

Every description of Life Assurance business transacted. Loans granted on personal and other securities. Detailed Prospectuses, containing the names and addresses of nearly seven hundred shareholders, rates of premium, an explanation of the system now originated, together with useful information and statistics respecting Life Assurance, may be had on application at the offices.

Parties desirous of becoming Agents or Medical Referees are requested to communicate with the Secretary.

By order of the Board, THOMAS H. BAYLIS.

Offices: 40, Pall-mall, London.

ENGLISH AND CAMBRIAN ASSURANCE SOCIETY.

Chief Office, 9, New Bridge-street, London.

Branch Offices:—London: 6, Trinity-street, Borough, and 65, Sun-street, Bishopsgate. Glasgow: 63, St. Vincent-street. Dublin: 38, Lower Ormond-quay. Norwich: 16, St. Giles-street. Bury St. Edmunds: 18a, Corn-market. Policies indisputable. Half Premiums taken.

"Diseased," Military and Naval Lives accepted at equitable rates.

Annuities, Endowments, and Loans on the most advantageous terms.

Claims payable three months after satisfactory proof of death. Profits divided annually after first seven years.

C. W. BEVAN, Manager and Actuary.

THE MERCHANTS' AND TRADESMAN'S MUTUAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY, 5, Chatham-place, Blackfriars, London, E.C. 4, Dale-street, Liverpool; and all the principal Towns in the Kingdom.

TRUSTEES.

John Macgregor, Esq., M.P. Charles Harris, Esq. David Ferguson, Esq. Jeffery Smith, Esq. Thomas How, Esq.

DIRECTORS.

Chairman—John Macgregor, Esq., Princes-terrace, Hyde-park M.P. for Glasgow.

John Carter, Esq., South Molton-street.

Francis Edwards, Esq., Westbourne-terrace, Hyde-park.

David Ferguson, Esq., Eastcheap, and Champion-park.

Thomas How, Esq., Eastcheap; Gordon-house, Turnham-green.

Benjamin Hooper, Esq., Seething-lane.

Daniel McFarlan, Esq., Fenchurch-street.

William Northcott, Esq., 13, Rood-lane, and St. Mary's-road, Peckham.

Charles Snewin, Esq., Lloyd-square.

MEDICAL OFFICERS.

Archibald Billing, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., Park-lane.

R. W. Tappin, Esq., F.R.C.S., Old Burlington-street.

Daniel Hooper, Esq., B.A., M.D., Lond., 18, Trinity-square, Southwark.

Assurances on Lives and Survivorships; Annuities for Old Age; Endowments for Children; and every description of Life Assurance may be effected in this office.

Policies indisputable, except in cases of Fraud.

All the Profits go to the Members.

Prospectuses may be had at the Offices, or of the Agents.

GEORGE THOMSON, Manager.

THOMAS MUSGRAVE, Secretary.

* Active persons required as agents where they are not already appointed.

INDUSTRIAL BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL PROVINCIAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY.

Incorporated by Act of Parliament, 7 and 8 Vic., cap. 110. With a Guarantee Fund of Fifty Thousand Pounds.

Chief Office, 34, Moorgate-street, Bank, London.

TRUSTEES.

John Hinde Palmer, Esq. Thomas Winkworth, Esq. William Anthony Furnell, Esq. John Poole, Esq.

DIRECTORS.

William G. H. Balnes, Esq., Kensington.

Stephen Broad, Esq., Rye-hill, Peckham.

William Carr, Esq., Bishopgate-street Without, and Sydenham.

John Cropp, Esq., Oakland-house, Clapham.

Joseph Davison, Esq., Friday-street, Cheapside, and Highgate.

Wellington Gregory, Esq., Cheapside.

John Poole, Esq., Gutter-lane, Cheapside, and Highbury.

William Anthony Furnell, Esq., Oriental Club, and Lee, Kent.

AUDITORS.

James Hutton, Esq., Accountant, Moorgate-street.

Henry Chatteris, Esq., Accountant, Gresham-street.

William Henry Furnell, Esq., Accountant, Old Jewry.

PHYSICIAN.

Henry Letheby, Esq., M.D., Professor of Medical Jurisprudence, London Hospital.

SURGEONS.

Thomas Oliver Duke, Esq., Kennington.

Thomas Carr Jackson, Esq., Hamilton-place, New-road.

BANKERS—Commercial Bank of London.

SOLICITOR.

Edward Kelly Harris, Esq., 52, Lincoln's-inn-fields.

SURVEYOR.

Henry Annesley Voysey, Esq., Guildford-street, Russell-square.

MANAGER—J. W. Sprague, Esq.

The Directors of this Society, in addition to the ordinary business usually transacted by Life Assurance Societies, have formed a distinct Branch for the Industrial Classes, embracing every system of Life Assurance, and for that purpose have caused extensive tables to be prepared, combining the interests of every class of Assurers, in a manner more comprehensive than has hitherto been attempted by any similar Society.

The system of Life Assurance hitherto propounded, although admirably well adapted to the means and circumstances of the middle and higher classes of society, nevertheless is not available to the ever-varying condition of nearly nine-tenths of the people of this great commercial country, viz., the Industrial Classes.

Ninepence per Month, or the cost of one pint of beer per week, will secure £30 to the wife and family, at the death of a man aged 25 next birthday; or,

One Shilling and Thence per Month will secure to a person of the same age the sum of £25 on his attaining the age of 60, or the same sum would be paid to his family should he die before attaining that age.

NON-FORFEITURE OF MONEY PAID.

Should a person from any cause be unable to meet the payment of his Premium, he will not lose the benefit of the Assurance, but will be allowed, as often as the value of the Policy will admit, to charge the amount thereof on his Policy; or,

Should a person be altogether unable to continue the Assurance, the sum paid will not be forfeited as in other Offices, as he will be granted, by the Directors, another Policy of less amount, but equivalent to the sums already paid, and exonerated from any future payments.

The Rates of Premium for Deferred Annuities, Endowments for Children, and every other description of business, may be obtained of the Secretary, at the Offices of the Society, 34, Moorgate-street, Bank, or of any of the Agents.

METROPOLITAN COUNTIES AND GENERAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY, 27, Regent-street, Waterloo-place, London.

DIRECTORS.

Samuel Driver, Esq. Thomas Littledale, Esq. John Griffith Frith, Esq. Edward Lomax, Esq. Henry Peter Fuller, Esq. Samuel Miller, Esq. John Falk Griffin, Esq. John Vanittart Neale, Esq. Peter Hood, Esq. Sir Thomas Y. Beeve. Capt. Hon. G. F. Hotham, R.N. William Studley, Esq.

Life Assurances, Annuities, and Endowments. Three-fourths of profits divided amongst the assured.—Prospectuses, post free, on application. F. FERGUSON CAMROUX, Manager.

FRATERNAL FESTIVAL.

THE FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS will hold their FOURTH ANNUAL SOIREE and BALL, at the LITERARY INSTITUTE, JOHN STREET, FITZROY-SQUARE, on TUESDAY EVENING, December 30, as a public reception to G. JULIAN HARNEY, on his return from Scotland. Several of the leading Democrats, both British and Continental, are expected to be present.

Tea on the Table at Six o'clock precisely.

Tickets, 1s. 6d. single, and 2s. 6d. double, to be had of Mr. Truelove, at the Institute, and of the members of the Committee.

N.B. The Metropolitan members are requested to meet at the above Institution on Friday Evening, December 19.

CATHOLIC DEFENCE ASSOCIATION.—OFFICE OF SECRETARY.

Catholic Defence Association Committee, 15, Rutland-square East, Dublin, December 1, 1851.

The Committee of the Catholic Defence Association will proceed on Wednesday, the 17th of December next, to elect a paid Secretary to the Association, at a Salary of Three Hundred Pounds per Annum. Sealed Applications from Candidates to be addressed to the Honorary Secretaries, at the House of the Association, No. 15, Rutland-square East, on or before the 12th of December.

The General Committee will meet for the purpose of examining the Applications, on the 13th of December, preparatory to the final Selection on the 17th instant.

JOHN REYNOLDS, JOHN SADLER, } Hon. Secretaries. WILLIAM KEOGH, }

SOCIETY for the DISCHARGE and RELIEF of PERSONS IMPRISONED for SMALL DEBTS throughout ENGLAND and WALES, Established 1772.

President—The Earl of ROMNEY. Vice-President—Lord KENYON.

Treasurer—Benjamin Bond Cabell, Esq., M.P., F.R.S. Auditors—Capel Cure, Esq., and H. Harwood Penny, Esq.

At a MEETING of GOVERNORS held in Craven-street, on Wednesday, the 3rd day of December, 1851, the cases of 9 petitioners were considered, of which 8 were approved and 1 rejected.

Since the Meeting held on the 5th of November, TWELVE DEBTORS, of whom 11 had wives and 26 children, have been discharged from the prisons of England and Wales; the expense of whose liberation, including every charge connected with the Society, was £139. 17s. 2d., and the following

BENEFICIARIES RECEIVED SINCE THE LAST REPORT:—

The Executors of the late Robert Neale, Esq., Legacy, per Treasurer, £450 0 0

The Reverend Sir John Newport, Baronet, per Messrs. Hoare and Co., £1 0 0

Beneficiaries are received by Benjamin Bond Cabell, Esq., the Treasurer, No. 1, Brick-court, Temple; also by the following Bankers:—Messrs. Cocks, Drummonds, Herries, Hoares, Veres; and by the Secretary, No. 7, Craven-street, Strand, where the books may be seen by those who are inclined to support the Charity, and where the Society meet on the first Wednesday in every month. JOSEPH LUNN, Secretary.

STEAM TO INDIA, CHINA, &c.—

Particulars of the regular Monthly Mail Steam Conveyance and of the additional lines of communication, now established by the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company with the East, &c. The Company book passengers, and receive goods and parcels as heretofore for CEYLON, MADRAS, CALCUTTA, PENANG, SINGAPORE, and HONG KONG, by their steamers, starting from SOUTHAMPTON on the 20th of every month, and from SUEZ on or about the 10th of the month.

The next extra steamer will be despatched from Southampton for Alexandria on the 3rd of April next, in combination with an extra steamer, to leave Calcutta on or about March 20. Passengers may be booked, and goods and parcels forwarded, by these extra steamers to or from SOUTHAMPTON, ALEXANDRIA, ADEN, CEYLON, MADRAS, and CALCUTTA.

BOMBAY.—The Company will likewise despatch from Bombay, about the 17th of December and 17th of February next, a first-class Steam-ship for Aden, to meet there the Company's ships between Calcutta and Suez, in connection with their Mediterranean Steamers leaving Alexandria about the 6th of January and 6th of March, affording direct conveyance for passengers, parcels, and goods from BOMBAY to Southampton. Passengers, parcels, and goods for BOMBAY and WESTERN INDIA will also be conveyed throughout in the Mail Steamers leaving Southampton on the 20th of December and the 20th of February next, and the corresponding vessels from Suez to Aden, at which latter port a Steam-ship of the Company's will be in waiting to embark and convey them to Bombay.

Passengers for Bombay can also proceed by this Company's Steamers of the 29th of the month to Malta, thence to Alexandria by her Majesty's steamers, and from Suez by the Honourable East India Company's steamers.

MEDITERRANEAN.—MALTA.—On the 20th and 29th of every month. Constantinople.—On the 29th of the month. Alexandria.—On the 20th of the month.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.—Vigo, Oporto, Lisbon, Cadiz, and Gibraltar, on the 7th, 17th, and 27th of the month.

N.B. Steam-ships of the Company now ply direct between Calcutta, Penang, Singapore, and Hong Kong, and between Hong Kong and Shanghai.

For further information and tariff of the Company's recently revised and reduced rates of passage-money and freight, and for plans of the vessels, and to secure passages, &c., apply at the Company's Offices, 122, Leadenhall-street, London, and Oriental-place, Southampton.

ALL the best NEW WORKS are exchanged

weekly at the residence of every Subscriber within three or four miles of MUDDIE'S SELECT LIBRARY, on the following terms:—Three volumes at one time, £2. 2s., or six volumes at one time, £3. 3s. per annum. Head's "Paris in 1851;" Stephen's "Lectures on France;" Spencer's "Turkey;" Walpole's "Ansaryi;" and every other good new work, are sent in answer to every application. Subscriptions are received by C. Wilson, 31, Wigmore-street, Cavendish-square; and by C. E. Muddie, 28, Upper King-street, Bloomsbury-square, from whom Prospectuses and every information may be obtained.

THE EDUCATION OF THE FEELINGS.

Second Edition, post 8vo., price 2s. 6d., cloth.

By CHARLES BRAY.

"With unaffected simplicity, and in a clear, manly, healthfully vigorous moral tone, has Mr. Bray executed the task he set himself, and has produced a book of small size, but of great merit and utility, and containing much excellent remark."—*Westminster Review*.

"We have seldom seen a volume which contains so much practical good sense in so few pages."—*Critic*.

"Teachers of all kinds, whether parents or professional guardians of youth, are deeply indebted to Mr. Bray for this charming little volume. It embodies in modest size and style a number of practical rules in the highest department of education, such as the labour of a whole life could but with difficulty collect and sift."—*Weekly News*.

By the same Author, in two vols. 8vo., price 10s. 6d.,

THE PHILOSOPHY OF NECESSITY; or, the Law of Consequences; as applicable to Mental, Moral, and Social Science.

Contents:—Mental Science: Moral Science: On the Origin, Objects, and Advantages of Evil, &c.; Social Science: On the Present Condition of Society; On the Measures proposed for the Amelioration of the Condition of the People; On the Cause of the Poverty of the Working Classes; Social Reform; Appendix, containing an Outline of the various Social Systems founded on the Principles of Cooperation.

Also, price 5s.,

An OUTLINE of the VARIOUS SOCIAL SYSTEMS and COMMUNITIES which have been founded on the Principle of CO-OPERATION. With an Introductory Essay. By the Author of "The Philosophy of Necessity." London: Longman and Co.

WORKS on CO-OPERATION and SOCIALISM, Sold by JAMES WATSON.

ROBERT OWEN'S BOOK of the NEW MORAL s. d.

WORLD. 1 vol. cloth 11 0

Ditto, Six Parts, reduced to 6d. each. Part 4 out of print.

ROBERT OWEN'S DEVELOPMENT, or Principles of Home Colonization. 1 vol. 3 6

ROBERT OWEN'S LECTURES on a RATIONAL STATE of SOCIETY, in Answer to the Bishop of Exeter 3 0

ROBERT OWEN'S TWELVE LECTURES on an EN-TIRE NEW STATE of SOCIETY 3 6

ROBERT OWEN'S REPORT to the COUNTY of LANARK 0 6

ROBERT OWEN'S SIGNS of the TIMES 0 2

ROBERT OWEN'S ADDRESS to SOCIALISTS 0 2

ROBERT OWEN'S OUTLINES of the RATIONAL SYSTEM 0 2

ROBERT OWEN'S MANIFESTO (Seventh Edition) 1 0

ROBERT OWEN'S DISCUSSION with the Reverend WM. LEGG 1 6

ROBERT OWEN'S DISCUSSION with J. BRINDLEY, at Bristol 0 6

ROBERT OWEN'S FIRST LECTURE at the MECHANICS' INSTITUTION, London 0 3

ROBERT OWEN'S ADDRESS on the OPENING of the NEW LANARK INSTITUTION 0 6

ROBERT OWEN'S JOURNAL, Vols. 1 and 2—each 2 6

ROBERT OWEN'S LETTERS to the HUMAN RACE 1 0

ROBERT OWEN'S REVOLUTION in the MIND and PRACTICE 1 0

THOMPSON'S ENQUIRY into the DISTRIBUTION of WEALTH. 1 vol. 5 0

THOMPSON'S APPEAL to WOMEN. In a wrapper 1 0

THOMPSON'S LABOUR REWARDED. In a wrapper 1 0

BRAY'S LABOURER'S WRONGS and LABOURER'S REMEDIES. 1 vol. 2 0

London: J. Watson, 3, Queen's Head-passage, Paternoster-row.

WORKS PUBLISHED BY E. APPLEYARD,

86, FARRINGTON-STREET, CITY.

Now Publishing, in Penny Weekly Numbers, and Monthly Parts at Sixpence, beautifully Illustrated,

THE PERILS OF THE OCEAN! Being Authentic Narratives of Remarkable and Affecting Disasters upon the Deep; also Wonderful and Daring Adventures by Land. Nos. 1 to 6 are now ready: also Part I.

WORKS COMPLETE. s. d.

THE WANDERING JEW, 86 Engravings 9 0

THE MYSTERIES OF PARIS, 53 Engravings 4 0

ATAR-GULL, and PAULA MONTI, 19 Engravings 2 0

MARTIN THE FOUNDLING, 54 Engravings 4 0

THE WIDOW'S WALK, 19 Engravings 2 0

THE SLAVE KING, 17 Engravings 2 0

THE SIN OF M. ANTOINE, 11 Engravings 2 6

OTTAWAH, 22 Engravings 2 6

THE BASTARD OF MAULEON. By Alex. Dumas, 25 Engravings 2 6

CALCULUS, THE TURFITE'S COMPUTOR 1 0

BARLOW'S NIGGER MELODIST, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Series, post-free, 10 penny stamps each 0 6

HELPS TO MEMORY. Being Questions and answers to every Department of Human Knowledge 1 6

LIVES OF THE MOST CELEBRATED ACTORS and ACTRESSES. By T. S. Marshall, Esq., with their Portraits by John Gilbert, Esq. 4 0

THE TAILOR'S TUTOR, with 16 Plates 5 0

THE COMPLETE READY RECKONER, from One Farthing to One Pound 0 6

AMERICAN RECITATIONS. Post-free, 10 penny stamps 0 6

W. WARDE'S COMICSONGS. Post-free, 10 penny stamps 0 6

MANLY BEAUTY 1 0

LIFE IN PARIS 3 6

PRIDE; or, THE DUCHESS 2 0

MEMOIRS OF A PHYSICIAN 3 6

THE FORTY-FIVE GUARDSMEN 2 6

THE COMMANDER OF MALTA 1 0

32 PLATES to illustrate the Cheap Edit. of N. Nickleby 1 6

BLACK TULIP. By Dumas 1 0

HOUSEHOLD LIBRARY; or, Guide to Domestic Happiness 2 0

TALES OF ALL NATIONS 1 0

PERILS OF THE OCEAN 1 0

THE WANDERING JEW. Complete in 70 Numbers. 33

THE MYSTERIES OF PARIS 33

ATAR-GULL and PAULA MONTI 37

MARTIN THE FOUNDLING 40

THE BASTARD OF MAULEON 26

LIFE IN PARIS 36

PRIDE; or, THE DUCHESS 20

MEMOIRS OF A PHYSICIAN 36

THE FORTY-FIVE GUARDSMEN 26

THE COMMANDER OF MALTA 10

THE BLACK TULIP 10

TALES OF ALL NATIONS 11

All the above Works are always in Print in Numbers or Complete Copies, and are well printed on Fine Paper, with Beautiful Illustrations, and can be had by Order of any Bookseller in Town or Country.

PUNCH'S ALMANACK FOR 1852,

Price 3d., or Stamped 4d., will be published in the course of December.

PUNCH OFFICE, 55, FLEET-STREET: AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS AND NEWSMEN.

This day, Second Edition, revised and enlarged, 3s.

ENGLISH SYNONYMS. Edited by RICHARD WHATELY, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin.

London: John W. Parker and Son, West Strand.

Just published, price 2s.

LECTURES ON TRUE AND FALSE HYPNOTISM OR MESMERISM. By HORATIO PRATER, Author of Experimental Inquiries on the Blood. Founded on experimental researches.

London: Piper, Brothers, and Co., 23, Paternoster-row.

Nearly ready for publication, neatly bound in cloth, price 3s. 6d. (collected and revised from "HOUSEHOLD WORDS," with a table of dates), **THE FIRST VOLUME OF****A CHILD'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND.**

By CHARLES DICKENS. With a Frontispiece from a Drawing by F. W. TOPHAM. The History will be completed in Three Volumes of the same size and price.

Bradbury and Evans, 11, Boulevard-street.

Fifth Edition, now ready,

THE PARENT'S DENTAL GUIDE; with a Few Remarks on the Use of Impure Gold for Dental Purposes. By WILEMIA IWKIN, Surgeon-Dentist."Mr. Iwkine has obtained the opinion of Dr. Alfred Taylor on the action of the saliva on the gold plates used by dentists, and has received a sufficiently explicit answer to enable him to affirm that the gold used by respectable dentists can produce no deleterious action upon the animal economy."—*London Medical Gazette*, London: Churchill, Princes-street, Soho.

Just published, price 1s.

THE TASK OF TODAY.

By EVANS BELL.

Being the first volume of the Cabinet of Reason, the essential object of which is to bring together, in a portable form, a literature by which the class of thinkers and writers identified with Free-thought, and the Sovereignty of the Individual, may consent to be judged; and which shall be a well-advised and dispassionate expression of opinions, not taken up in antagonism, but adopted in conviction, and enforced as a protest alike against that Progress which is Anarchy, and that Order which is merely prostration in Intellect and Despotism in Politics.

J. Watson, 3, Queen's Head-passag, Paternoster-row.

This day, 8vo., 10s. 6d.,

MANUAL OF GEOGRAPHICAL SCIENCE.

Edited by the Reverend C. G. NICOLAY, F.R.G.S. PART THE FIRST, containing,

MATHEMATICAL GEOGRAPHY. By M. O'BRIEN, M.A., F.R.S., Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy in King's College, London.**PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.** By D. T. ANSTED, M.A., F.R.S., Professor of Geology in King's College, London.**CHARTOGRAPHY.** By J. R. JACKSON, F.R.S., late Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society.**THEORY OF DESCRIPTION AND GEOGRAPHICAL TERMINOLOGY.** By Reverend C. G. NICOLAY, F.R.G.S., Librarian of King's College, London.

Also (to accompany the MANUAL OF GEOGRAPHICAL SCIENCE), price 3s.,

ATLAS OF PHYSICAL AND HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY. Engraved by J. W. LOWAY, under the direction of Professor ANSTED and Reverend C. G. NICOLAY.

London: John W. Parker, and Son, West Strand.

HANDSOME CHRISTMAS PRESENT AND NEW YEAR'S GIFT.

By Authority of the Royal Commissioners.

THE COMPLETE OFFICIAL DESCRIPTIVE AND ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE OF THE GREAT EXHIBITION OF THE WORKS OF INDUSTRY OF ALL NATIONS, 1851. In Three handsome Volumes, price Three Guineas."This Catalogue is the only one that will at all times have the power of recalling to recollection the most interesting features of the Crystal Palace."—*Athenaeum*."We predict for the Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition a standard reputation. It has an enduring interest in the mass of valuable information of almost every description which it contains. Every object in the collection will be found noted down and described with the amount of particularity due to it."—*Times*.

This Work is also published in Five Parts: Parts 1 and 2, price 10s. each; and Parts 3, 4, and 5, price 15s. each.

2. HUNT'S HANDBOOK to the GREAT EXHIBITION. In 2 volumes, price 6s."One of the most popular mementoes and histories of the actual gathering of the nations."—*Athenaeum*.**3. THE OFFICIAL SMALL CATALOGUE.** Finally corrected and improved Edition, with Indexes and Priced Lists, &c., price 7s. 6d.

SPICER, BROTHERS, Wholesale Stationers.

WM. CLOWES and SONS, Printers.

Official Catalogue Office, 29, New Bridge-street, Blackfriars; and of all Booksellers.

MISS KAVANAGH'S NEW WORK.

Just ready, in One Volume, Post 8vo., with Portraits, price 12s., elegantly bound in embossed cloth, gilt edges.

WOMEN OF CHRISTIANITY, exemplary for acts of Piety and Charity. By JULIA KAVANAGH, Author of "Woman in France," "Nahalie," &c.

London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 65, Cornhill.

NEW SPORTING WORK, with ILLUSTRATIONS BY JOHN LEECH.

On the first of January will be published, to be completed in TWELVE MONTHLY PARTS, price 1s. each.

MR SPONGE'S SPORTING TOUR. By the Author of "Handley Cross," "Jorrocks's Jaunts," &c. Each Number containing One Coloured Engraving and numerous Woodcuts, by JOHN LEECH.

London: Published at the Punch Office, 55, Fleet-street.

Just published.

THE PROSPECTUS OF THE CENTRAL CO-OPERATIVE AGENCY.

Containing the necessary means for obtaining further information. May be had at the following places:—The CENTRAL OFFICE, 76, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square; the Marylebone Branch, 33, Great Marylebone-street; the Manchester Branch, 13, Swan-street, Manchester; the Publishing Office of the Society for Promoting Working-Men's Associations, 183, Fleet-street. Gratis, if by personal application; if by letter, 6d. Postage Stamp.

In Weekly Numbers, price 2d., or stamped for post, 3d.: in Monthly Parts, and in Half-yearly Volumes (three of which are published).

HOUSEHOLD WORDS. A Weekly Journal.

Conducted by CHARLES DICKENS. Designed for the Instruction and Amusement of all Classes of Readers, and to assist in the Discussion of the Social Questions of the time.

Also, published at the end of every Month, at the same Office, price 2d.

THE HOUSEHOLD NARRATIVE OF CURRENT EVENTS; which being declared, by the judgment of the Court of Exchequer, a legal publication not coming within the provisions of the Stamp Act, will be regularly continued and much improved.

The First Volume, being a Narrative of the Public Events of 1850, is always on sale, price Three Shillings, neatly bound in cloth. The Second Volume will be published early in January.

Office, No. 16, Wellington-street North; sold by all Booksellers and Newsmen.

CHRISTMAS PRESENTS AND NEW YEAR'S GIFTS.

Just Published, by DEAN and SON, 35, Threadneedle-street.

Edited by MISS CORNER.

Price 3s. 6d. each Series, each complete in itself, bound in fancy cloth, gilt edges, sides, and back.

THE COLOURED NURSERY PICTURE**SUNDAY BOOK.** With above 100 coloured illustrations. Edited by MISS CORNER, Author of the "Historical Library," &c. &c.

Illustrated 2s. 6d. Books. Nine different Lists on application.

SUNSHINE AND SHOWERS; or, Stories for the Children of England. By the Author of "Spring Flowers and Summer Blossoms." Forming No. IX. of DEAN'S 2s. 6d. Series of Present Books for the Young and Good. Bound with gilt edges, sides, and back.

Handsome Book for a present, price 5s., tastefully bound, with raised fancy covers, gilt and figured, gilt edges, and printed in emblematic coloured borders, with Selections of Poetry appropriate to each flower.

THE ORIENTAL TEXT BOOK, and LANGUAGE OF FLOWERS. By G. W. ADAMS, Author of "Poetry of Flowers," &c. &c.

Price 1s., stiff cover; or 1s. 6d. cloth.

PAPA AND MAMMA'S EASY LESSONS IN**ARITHMETIC.** By T. M. MORELL. With Thirty Illustrations. Same size and style as Miss Corner's "Play Grammar," and Miss Sargeant's "Papa and Mamma's Easy Lessons in Geography."

Will be ready on the 16th.

TO THOSE ABOUT TO MARRY!!!

SHOWING HOW WE (THE JONES'S) COM-MENCED HOUSEKEEPING; with some account of my mother-in-law. Designed and etched by Watts Phillips, pupil of George Cruikshank. All for 2s. 6d. plain, or 5s. coloured.

Fun for Christmas, and all Times.

REMINISCENCES OF THE GREAT EXHIBITION; or, ANNAIS FACETARUM OF 1851. 1s. plain, 2s. coloured.

A Comic Panorama, price 1s. plain, 2s. 6d. coloured.

FROLIC AND FUN; or, What was Seen and Done in London in 1851.**LAUGHTER AND FUN for EVERY ONE,** showing the Comic effect of TURN-UP and TURN-DOWN; the whole a Mif of Fireside Fun. Price 6d. plain, 1s. 6d. coloured.

Price 6d. plain, in stiff cover, or 1s. coloured, in boards, with 44 illustrations.

PLEASING POPULAR RIDDLES and**PUZZLES.**

London: Printed for George Man, Cornhill, by Dean and Son, Threadneedle-street; and by order of all Booksellers.

NEW ILLUSTRATED WORKS,
SUITABLE FOR PRESENTS, PRIZES, &c.**THE HOME BOOK OF THE PICTURESQUE,**OR,
AMERICAN SCENERY, ART, AND LITERATURE.

Comprising a Series of Essays by Washington Irving, Miss Cooper, H. J. Tucker, W. C. Bryant, N. P. Willis, R. L. Magoon, J. F. Cooper, Bayard Taylor, Dr. Bethune, A. B. Street, Miss Field, &c. With Thirteen Engravings on Steel, from pictures by eminent artists, engraved expressly for this work.

1 vol., demy 4to., beautifully bound in cloth extra, 41. 10s.

THE BOOK OF HOME BEAUTY.

By Mrs. KIRKLAND.

With Twelve Portraits of American Ladies, from drawings by Charles Martin, Esq. Engraved on Steel by eminent artists.

1 vol., royal 4to., beautifully bound, cloth extra, 42. 2s.

The design of the American publisher of these volumes has been to produce from native materials works of the very highest class, illustrative of the Female Beauty and Picturesque Scenery of the United States, and for this purpose the highest literary and artistic talent of that country has been engaged.

THE FEMALE POETS OF AMERICA.

With Portraits, Biographical Notices, and Specimens of their Writings.

By THOMAS BUCHANAN READ.

Royal 8vo., morocco extra, 27s.; cloth gilt, 31s.

THE FEMALE PROSE WRITERS OF**AMERICA.**

With Portraits, Biographical Notices, and Specimens of their Writings.

By JOHN S. HART, LL.D.

Royal 8vo., morocco extra, 27s.; cloth gilt, 31s.

LEAFLETS OF MEMORY.

An Illuminated Annual for 1852.

Royal 8vo., morocco extra, 25s.

THE SNOW FLAKE.

A Christmas, New Year, and Birth-Day Gift for 1852.

Fcap. 8vo., morocco extra, 12s.

CHRISTMAS BLOSSOMS,**AND NEW YEAR'S WREATH FOR 1852.**

Small 4to., cloth gilt, 7s.

THE PROVERBIALIST AND THE POET.

With Twelve Illuminations and Engravings.

Small 4to., morocco extra, 24s.; cloth gilt, 21s.

POEMS BY EDITH MAY.

Elegantly Illustrated by Cheney, Devereux, Furness, Greatbach &c. With an Introduction by N. P. Willis.

Small 4to., morocco extra, 24s.; cloth gilt, 21s.

THE AMERICAN ALMANAC and REPOSITORY OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE for 1852. 5s.**ALEXANDER'S UNIVERSAL DICTIONARY** of WEIGHTS and MEASURES, Ancient and Modern; reduced to the Standards of the United States of America.

Royal 8vo., cloth, 9s. 6d.

BERANGER'S LYRICAL POEMS, done into English Verse by WILLIAM YOUNG.

12mo., cloth, 8s.

CHURCH'S (A. E., Professor of Mathematics in the United States Military Academy) ELEMENTS OF ANALYTICAL GEOMETRY.

8vo., cloth, 8s. 6d.

COMTE'S PHILOSOPHY OF MATHEMATICS.

Translated by GILLIES.

8vo., cloth, 8s. 6d.

CONRAD'S (R. T.) AYLMER; or, the BOND-MAN OF KENT; and other POEMS.

12mo., cloth, 6s.

DANA'S (J. D.) SYSTEM OF MINERALOGY; comprising the most recent Discoveries. Third Edition, greatly enlarged.

Royal 8vo., cloth, illustrated by numerous Woodcuts and Copper-plates, 21s.

DIX'S WINTER IN MADEIRA and SUMMER in SPAIN and FLORENCE.

12mo., cloth, 6s.

DOD'S ELECTRICAL PSYCHOLOGY.

12mo., paper, 3s. 6d.

FISHER'S SEVENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 1850, compiled from Official and other Authentic Sources. Paper, 1s.**MIMFIE'S (WILLIAM, Teacher of Drawing in the Central High School of Baltimore) TEXT-BOOK OF GEOMETRICAL DRAWING,** for the Use of Mechanics and Schools; with Illustrations for drawing Plans, Sections, and Elevations of Buildings and Machinery; an Introduction to Isometrical Drawing, and an Essay on Linear Perspective and Shading. The whole illustrated with fifty-six Steel Plates, containing over two hundred Diagrams.

Imperial 8vo., cloth, 16s.

MIMFIE'S TEXT-BOOK OF GEOMETRICAL DRAWING. Abridged from the Octavo Edition, for the Use of Schools.

12mo., sheep, 6s.

LONDON: JOHN CHAPMAN, 142, STRAND.

London: Printed by THOMAS HUNT (of Broadway-house, in the Parish of Hammer-smith, Middlesex), at the Office of Messrs. Palmer and Clayton, No. 10, Crane-court, in the Parish of St. Dunstons-in-the-West, London; and published by the said THOMAS HUNT, at the LEADER OFFICE, 10, WELLINGTON STREET, STRAND, in the Parish of St. Andrew, on December 13, 1851.

EXTRA NUMBER FOR CHRISTMAS OF HOUSEHOLD WORDS.

On the 18th of December, will be published, price 2d.,

AN EXTRA NUMBER OF

HOUSEHOLD WORDS.

Conducted by CHARLES DICKENS.

SHOWING

WHAT CHRISTMAS IS TO EVERYBODY.

OFFICE, 16, WELLINGTON-STREET NORTH.